

C O P I E S
O F T H E
I N F O R M A T I O N S
A N D
Original PAPERS

Relating to the Proof of
The Horrid Conspiracy

Against the Late

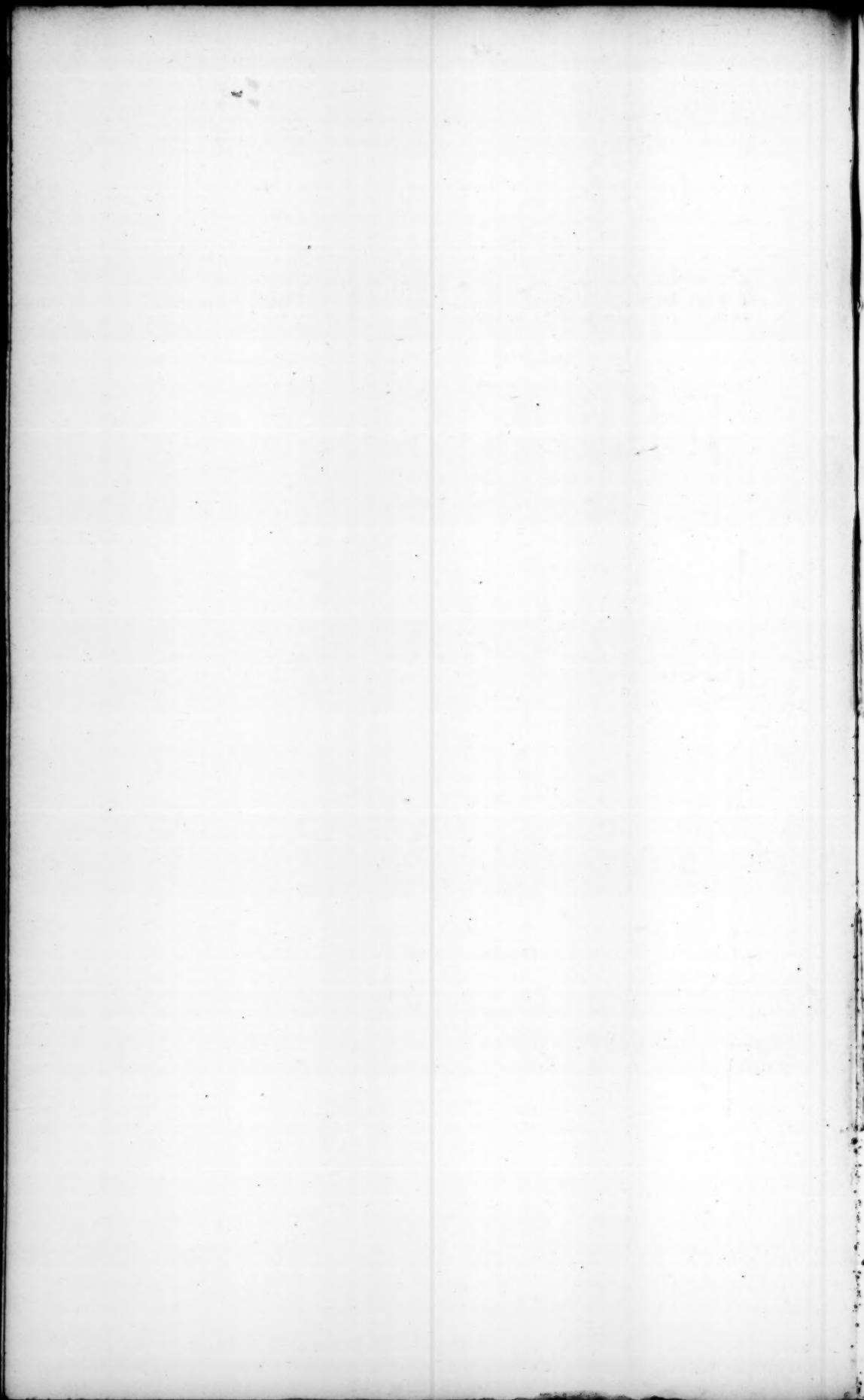
K I N G ,
His Present MAJESTY,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT :

As they were Order'd to be Publish'd
by His Late Majesty.

The Third EDITION.

In the SAVOY:

Printed by Thomas Newcomb, One of
His Majesties Printers. 1685.



I

THE
INFORMATION
OF
Josiah Keeling,
OF THE
Parish of St. *Butolph without Aldgate,*
IN THE
County of *Middlesex, Salter,*

Taken the 12th. of June, 1683.

THIS Informant deposeth and saith, That some time before that His Majesty went last to Newmarket, about a Fortnight or Three Weeks, as he remembers, Mr. *Richard Goodenough* (Under-Sheriff to Mr. *Bethel* and Mr. *Cornish*, late Sheriffs of *London*) did at the *Sun-Tavern*, behind the *Royal Exchange*, take this Informant aside, and ask him how many Men, he, this Informant, could procure to take away the Life of the King, and Duke of *York*: He having begun his Discourse with this Informant, by telling him that we (meaning thereby himself, this Informant, and other Citizens of *London*) were like to be in Slavery, and to lose Our Charter: To which Question this Informant answered, to the best of his remembrance, That he could not procure any to do that

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Work. This Informant further saith, That meeting the said *Goodenough* a second time, while His Majesty was yet at *Newmarket*, he told this Informant, That the only way to prevent shedding of Blood, was to take off the King and Duke privately, and renewed his former Request to the (this Informant) to procure what Men I could, towards the Effecting of it; and upon this Occasion he met me often in *Ludon*, and came down to my House. This Informant further saith, That he at the Solicitation of the said *Goodenough*, and others, did speak to divers Persons, that Mr. *Goodenough* had told this Informant, there were several Men that would be Concerned in taking off the King and the Duke, and they wanted More to make up their Complement, which were to be Forty in Number. Among the Persons that this Informant spoke to, there were Three, viz. *James Burton*, of *Wapping White Chappel*, Cheesemonger; *William Thompson*, Carver, of the same; and *Andrew Barber*, Instrument-maker, of the same: That Meeting by Appointment, at the *Myter-Tavern* within *Aldgate*, with one *Richard Rumbald* a Malster-man, living at a Place called, *The Rye* (if this Informant mistake not the Name) within two miles of *Hoddesden*, in the County of *Hertford*, or thereabouts, did agree on the Saturday next before His Majesty's Return from *Newmarket* last, to go down to the *Rye*, being the House of the aforesaid *Rumbald*, and there to Effect their Design of taking off the King and the Duke. The manner whereby they Proposed this should be Effectuated, That the said *Rumbald's* House, where they were to Meet, being by the High-ways side, they that were to be Actors in the Fact, were to hide themselves under a Wall, or a Pale; and when His Majesty's Coach should come over-against the said Wall or Pale, Three or Four were to Shoot with Blunderbusses at the Postilion and the Horses; and if the Horses should not Drop, then there were to be Two Men with an empty Cart in the Lane near the Place, who in the Habit of Labourers should run the Cart thwart the Lane, and so to stop the Horses; besides those that were to Shoot the Postilion and Horses, there were several appointed to Shoot into the Coach where His Majesty was to be, and others to Shoot at the Guards that should be attending the Coach. This Informant further saith, That meeting with Mr. *Robert*

bert *West*, of the *Middle Temple*, Barrister, they went to the *Dolphin Tavern* in *Bartholomew Lane*, behind the *Royal Exchange*, where they met the said *Rumbald*, and one *Hone* of *Southwark*, (as this Informant believes he was either a Carpenter or a Joyner) and they Discoursing together, when His Majesty would come Home from *Newmarket*, Mr. *Rumbald* said, He heard that he would come that night : Mr. *West* said he had heard that His Majesty would not come till *Monday* ; and, said he, I hope he will not come till *Saturday*, that is the *Saturday* come *Sennight*. To which *Rumbald* replied, I hope so too. If he do not, said Mr. *West* to *Rumbald*, why then how many Swan-Quills ? how many Goose-Quills ? and how many pair of Crow-Quills, will or must you have ? Whereto *Rumbald* answered, Six Swan-Quills, Twenty Goose-Quills, Twenty or Thirty (the Informant doth not exactly remember which) pair of Crow-Quills, with Ink and Sand proportionable. This Informant asking, either the said *West*, or else the said *Rumbald*, what was meant by those several sorts of Quills ; Was answered, That by the first were meant, Blunderbusses ; by the second, Muskets ; by the third, Cases of Pistols ; by the Ink and Sand, Powder and Bullet. This Informant seeing *Rumbald* the same Week that His Majesty returned Home, told him he had seen the King passing by his House, and that if he had but Five Men with him, he could have done his Busines, and the Dukes, for that there were but Five Life-Guard men with them. This Informant further saith, That the said *Goodenough* about a Fortnight ago, came to this Informants House, and going from thence to the Coffee-House, he told him, after he had pulled out some Papers, that he this Informant must take one of the said Papers ; who asking the said *Goodenough*, what he must do with it ; he the said *Goodenough* answered, that he must take to his assistance nine or ten Men, such as he could trust, to the end they might consult all the House-keepers, Journey-men and Apprentices, to see what number of Men might be raised upon occasion, either to justify the ACT, if the King and Duke should be taken off, or if not, what strength could be made up in case of an Insurrection or a Rebellion : And he being told by this Informant, that we were well, indeed better than any other Nation, (that is) much happier

pier if we could be quiet, otherwise we should involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion ; He replied, That he was clearly for taking off the King and the Duke, and then there should be quickly an end to it : And this Informant further saith, That the two Papers now produced by him, were delivered to him by the said *Goodenough*, and that the Paper beginning with these words, *viz.* .4. From *White-Chappel Southeast*, and ending *Round Goodmans Fields*, was Written with *Goodenoughs* own hand, as this Informant believes. And this Informant saith, That he had received a third Paper from the said *Goodenough*, which he gave into the hands of one *Joseph Helly* a Carver of *Limehouse*, who put it into his Pocket, but said he would not meddle in it. This Informant further saith, That the said *Goodenough* told him he had divided the City and Suburbs into Twenty Parts, and shewed this Informant the Names of the Divisions in Writing, having, as he said, taken it out of the Map. In the Company of the said *Goodenough* and this Informant was one *William Rumbald*, the Brother of the said *Richard Rumbald*, to whom a Paper was offered, but he would not meddle. In each Division there was to be one Principal Man, to take to his assistance eight or nine more as he thought convenient : but he Named none of them to this Informant. This Informant further saith, That on *Thursday* last he going into the *Saintation-Tavern* in *Lumbard Street*, was told there were above Stairs some Acquaintance of his ; he going up, found the said *Goodenough* there, together with one *Wade*, *Nelthorp*, and the aforesaid *Weft*, all Barristers at Law ; they called this Deponent in *Jest* by the Name of *Gulick* ; and he asking them what they meant by it, they told him, *Gulick* was a brave Fellow and headed the People at *Cologne*, and they hoped to see this Informant do the same at *Wapping* ; and they asked how their Friends did in *Wapping*, and what Strength they could make there : The Informant answered, They would do well enough there, and concluded they were privy to the Design. In this Company was one they called Captain *Walcot*, who went over with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and came back with his Corps ; as also one they called Colonel, whose Name this Informant does not know. This Informant further saith, That the said *Richard Rumbald* in the Conversation above mentioned with the

the said Burton, Thompson, and Barber and this Deponent, affirmed, That to take off the King and the Duke would be a keeping of one of the *Ten Commandments*, since it would prevent a Rebellion, whereby abundance of Blood must be shed. This Informant further saith, That he asking West and Goodenough on the Thursday above mentioned, what Care was taken for Arms, he was answerd, That he need not take care of that, for there was Provision already made; and that the said West recommended Secrecy above all things to this Deponent, otherwise the present Design miscarrying, they should never be able to Retrieve it. West further told this Deponent on *Easter Eve*, That since the Design to be executed upon the King's Return from Newmarket had failed, they intended to take the King and Duke off between *Windfor* and *Hampton Court*.

Josiah Keeling.

12 Die Junii 1683.

*Josiah Keeling,
Juratus fuit Coram
me,*

L. Jenkins.

*The Joint Information of Josiah Keeling,
of the Parish of St. Butolph without Ald-
gate, in the County of Middlesex, Salter,
and of John Keeling of the Parish of
St. Anne Black-Fryers, Citizen and Tur-
ner, taken the 14th of June, 1683.*

These Informants being in Company with *Richard Goodenough*, this 14th day of June, between the hours of Twelve and One, at the *Dolphin-Tavern* behind the *Exchange*; and the said *Josiah Keeling* asking him what Account he had of those Twenty Divisions that he had

had made of the City, or to that effect; He Answered, That he had an Account of *Lee a Dyer* in *Old-Street, Middlesex*, and that he could raise him 500 Men: And the said *Goodenough* being asked by the said Informants where those Men should have Arms and Ammunition, and also where other Men that were designed to be Raised should have the like: It was Replyed by the said *Goodenough*, That there were Twenty thousand Pounds already promised, which should be had upon Demand, and that the said Mony was to be distributed to the Twenty Principal Undertakers, proportionably to the Lists of Men they brought in; or the said *Goodenough* Replied to that Effect: The said *Goodenough* further adding, That the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all his Friends would be concerned in raising the said Mony; And that the said Duke would be at the Head of the said Party, which they propounded to be Four Thousand in Number, and that many more would quickly fall in. And the said *Goodenough* further said, that a certain Colonel (whom the Informant takes to be Colonel *Romsey*) would advance Eight hundred or a Thousand Pounds towards Paying for Arms. And the said *Goodenough* further said, that *Wade* the Counsellor of *Bristol*, or thereabouts, kept in Town two or three hundred pounds, towards paying for Arms. And the said *Goodenough* being asked what he would Contribute towards the carrying on of the said Design, (he being a Rich Man) he answered that he had about threescore pounds in Plate, and fifty or threescore pounds in Gold, and had he more it should all go to the same use; And the said *Josiah* asking him what Provision of Horse there was, the said *Goodenough* answered that there were a Hundred ready, and Men to Mount them, and if occasion be, there should be more in readiness; and the said Informants further say, that the said *Josiah*, being asked by the said *Goodenough*, what Progres he had made upon those Papers he had entrusted with him, and *Josiah* shewing him the Paper of Number Three (which *Goodenough* owned to have been delivered by him to the said *Josiah*, with two Papers more) and telling him all was well enough with us, but asking him withal, what we should do for Arms and Ammunition, he the said *Goodenough* answered, that if there was Faith in Men, Mony should not be wanting to buy Arms and Ammunition, and that

that he was to meet this night them that were principally concerned. And these Informants say that the said *Josiah* (being desirous to pry into the secrets of their design against the *Tower*) propounded to the said *Goodenough*, that a Person with the Staff of a Constable should bring in a Man bound as an offender before the Lieutenant, or Major *Roe*; and that at the same time, another Person should be brought in upon the same Colour, and by that means secure the Guard at the Gate, till such time that a Body of Men which was to be lodged in the Corner-house of *Thames-street*, or the next to it, should come to their help; For which proposal the said *Goodenough* applauded the said *Josiah* very much, clapping him upon the back. And the Informant *Josiah* asking what to satisfy our People we should do for a few Arms, he answered, that the said *Josiah* should have Money to buy them. *Josiah* then askt him what Gun-smith he woul'd recommend him to, adding whether he had not best deal with Mr. *West*'s (meaning Mr. *West* the Lawyer's Gun-smith)? Whereto the said *Goodenough* answered, that Gun-smith was a very honest Fellow, and that he need not distrust him: The said *Josiah* further askt him, saying, you must have some Arms; Are those disposed that were to be sent to *Rye*? Whereto *Goodenough* answered they were not. Then the said *Josiah* askt him if they were at *West*'s House, or at the Gun-smiths; Whereto *Goodenough* answered, they were at the Gun-smiths, who lived in *Sbeer-lane*, on the left hand, as one goes from *Fleet-street*: And the said *Josiah* asking the said *Goodenough* whither they went on with their Design of Killing the King and the Duke between *Windfor* and *Hampton-Court*; he the said *Goodenough* replied No, because they did not usually go together, but they would do it at the Bull-Feast, in *Lyon-Fields*. And these Informants further say Not.

14 Die Junii 1683.

*Jurati Prædicti Johani.
& Josiah Coram me,*

*Josiah Keeling.
John Keeling.*

L. Jenkins.

The

*The Joint Information of Josiah Keeling,
of the Parish of St. Butolph without Ald-
gate, in the County of Middlesex, Salter,
and of John Keeling of the Parish of
St. Anne Black-Fryers, Citizen and
Turner, June the 15th, 1683.*

TH E Informants say, that being in the Company of Richard Goodenough at the Sun-Tavern behind the Royal Exchange, between the hours of One and Three of the Clock on the 15th. day of this instant June, 1683. They asked the said Goodenough what Persons of Quality would be concerned: He the said Goodenough Replyed, that he had discoursed William Lord Russell, Son to the Earl of Bedford; and that the said Lord Russel told the aforesaid Goodenough, that he would be concerned in it to his utmost, and that he would use all his interest to accomplish the aforesaid design of killing the King, and the Duke of York: And these Informants further say, That asking the said Goodenough, what Colonel that was that yesterday he the said Goodenough told the Informants, Josiah and John, would advance eight hundred or a thousand pounds towards carrying on the design of Killing the King and Duke, he the said Goodenough Replyed, it was Colonel Romsey; and the Informant Josiah ask'd the said Goodenough whether it was that Romsey that Married the Lady Smith, and had Commanded Forces in Portugal for his Majesty, (i. e.) the King of England, he Replyed it was.

*Witness Our hands
this 15th. day of
June, 1683.*

*Josiah Keeling.
John Keeling.*

The

*The Information of Josiah Keeling, given
upon Oath at Hampton-Court, the 23
of June, 1683.*

AND this Informant further saith, that several Gentlemen, viz. Mr. *Roope*, Mr. *Fitton Gerald* and Mr. *Allen* and one other, whose Name this Informant hath forgot, who as they said came to visit their honest *Wapping Men*, that this Informant would recommend to them for such, and also to Dine with them at some Tavern, which was the *Fortune at Wapping*, where was Mr. *Samuel Gibbs*, Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, Mr. *Robert Ferguson*, with several other Persons that this Informant doth not remember, where the aforesaid Gentlemen began to drink Healths, some of which were as followeth; To the *Man that first draws his Sword in defence of the Protestant Religion against Popery and Slavery*; Another was, To the *Confusion of the Two Brothers, Slavery and Popery*; and being askt what they meant (as this Informant verily believeth) it was Replyed, *the Two Brothers at Whitehal*; The next was, To the *pinning of Mackinny's Head on the Monument for burning the City in 66*. And this Informant asking what was meant, they said it was the Duke of *York*. And this Informant Dining at the *Horseshoe-Tavern on Tower-bill*, with *Edward Norton Esq*; Mr. *Starkey*, Mr. *Ogle*, Mr. *Goodenough*, and others, forgot by this Informant, they drank the foreaid Healths, and did explain them as the aforesaid Company did. And this Informant further saith, that *Fran. Goodenough* sent a Letter to this Informant by one *Cherry*, to acquaint the said Informant, that the said *Goodenough*, would with some other Gentlemen Dine at the End of the Town, where this Informant dwelleth, and that this Informant would speak to such Men as he could trust, to meet the aforesaid persons at the *Siracusa House*; There came with the aforesaid *Goodenough* one *John Row* late *Sword-Bearer at Bristol*: with a *Dorset-shire Gentleman* whose name this Informant hath forgot; also at the same Meeting was Mr. *Edmund Hunt*, *Andrew Barber*, *William Tomson*, *James Burton*, as this Informant verily believes, with several others forgot, where it was

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agreed

agreed, we should discourse so that it might not be understood if we were over-heard. Then the question was, if the Foot-ball was laid down, how many we might reasonably expect would come in at first laying of it down from Our end of the Town to play at it? To Which it was replied, it was uncertain, but as many as were there would be concerned; to which it was answered by *Ron*, and *Goodenough*, if we would not in a little time kick the Ball effectually, we should be made Slaves, for saith *Ron*, the Lord Mayor hath imposed Sheriffs upon you, and the King will take away your Charter, and then you'll be in a fine Condition, and *Goodenough* spake to the same purpose; upon which *Hunt* replied, That he could do as much good as any body, for that Foot-ball Players often got broken shins, and he the said *Hunt* could Cure them. And this Informant further saith, that this discourse was grounded upon this Foundation, What Men can be raised against the *Churchwarden* at *Whitehal*, which was understood the King. And this Informant further saith, that *Richard Goodenough*, and *Richard Rumbold*, told this Informant, that there was a Remonstrance or Declaration ready drawn up, which would be Printed against the day that this designed Commotion was to be, wherein they would ease the People of Chimney Money, which seemed to be most Grievous, especially to the Common People, and that they would lay the Kings Death upon the Papists as a continued design of the former Plot.

Copy of a Note given in by *Josiah Keeling*
the 23 of June, and by him received
from *Goodenough*.

*From the Tower Eastward on the South-side of
Rosemary-lane to Maidenhead-lane, the West-
side of Maidenhead-lane, the North-side of
Upper Shadwell, Westward to new Gravel-lane,
the West-side of new Gravel-lane to the Thames,
and by the Thames to the Tower.*

The Streets and Allies of Note within the bounds.

St. Katherine's.	Meeting-house-ally.
East Smithfield.	Old Gravel-lane.
Ratcliff-High-way.	Brewers-lane.
Victualling-Office.	Tobacco-pipe-ally.
Butcher-Row.	Cinnamon-Street.
Redcross-Street.	Crown-Street.
Armitage.	Queen-Street.
Nightingal-lane.	King Edward's Street.
Artichoak-lane.	King-Street.
Redmead-lane.	Carmans-Rents.
Wapping.	Crown Yard.
Gun-ally.	Harrow-ally.
Crofs-ally.	Seven Star-ally.
Well-ally.	Garter Tard.
Warners-Yard.	West's Garden.
Salters-ally.	Blew-gate field.
Green Bank.	Fleece-Yard.
Gun-ally.	Chamberlain's-ally.
Pump-ally.	Frankland-Street.
Love-lane.	Match-Walk.
Back-ally.	

With all other Places within the outbounds not named.

The Information of Thomas Shepard, taken by the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, &c. June the 27th, 1683.

Some time before my Lord Shaftesbury went for Holland, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Gray, Lord Russel, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Col. Romsey, and Mr. Ferguson, met at my House in Abchurch-lane, where the subject of their Discourse was how to seize your Majesties Guards, and in order thereunto, as I afterwards at their next meeting was Informed, the Duke, Lord Gray, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, walked about that end of the Town, one night, and gave an account that they found them very remiss in their Places, not like Soldiers, and that the thing, provided they could have a sufficient strength, was feasible enough; but finding that failed, the Project was wholly laid aside, so far as I know: After that Mr. Ferguson told me of a Project was on foot for Destroying your Majesty, and his Royal Highness, coming from Newmarket, Colonel Romsey and Mr. West, and as I remember, Mr. Wade came to my Counting-House one Evening, and began to discourse of it; upon which I told them, that supposing they should effect what they talked of, it could not be expected that if the Duke of Monmouth should be Crowned, but in Honour and for his own vindication, he must search out the Assassins, and both Try and Execute them; So that instead of expecting a Reward, they must lose their Lives; upon which they ceased their Discourse, and went away soon after. Some time after this, Mr. Ferguson told me of a General Insurrection intended both in England and Scotland, and in order to it, that Sir John Cockran, Mr. Bayly, Mr. Monro, Sir Hugh and Sir George Cambell, were come up to Treat with some of our English Men about it; and that the Lord of Argyle had made a Proposition, That if they would raise him Thirty thousand pounds he would begin it in Scotland; but finding no hopes of raising that Summ, the Scotch were willing to accept of Ten thousand pounds: And by means of a Letter which came as I was informed (for there was no Name subscribed) from one Mr. Stewart, to some unknown Man, which I have forgot; Concluding then

then that it was intended to Mr. *Bayly*, or some other of those Gentlemen, having had some small acquaintance with Mr. *Stewart*, formerly by means of his Brother, who was then a Merchant in *Burdeaux*, and one of my Correspondents, I came acquainted with Mr. *Bayly*, who told me from time to time, what steps they made in't, how he Conversed with the Duke, Lord *Russel*, Major *W.* and as I remember, Colonel *Sidney*; and that he had divers Promises of the Mony, and desired it might be paid into my Hands; at length he told me that Five thousand pounds they had agreed to Raise amongst themselves, and that they expected the other half should be Raised in the City; but finding no Moneys could be got in the City, that Project fell likewise, and as Mr. *Bayly* told me, all his Country-Men were going beyond Sea.

A few days after came out the Discovery, and I never saw any of them since. Mr. *Ferguson* told me that my Lord *Effex* was hearty in this busines, and that *John Trenchard* was a Man to be depended upon in the *Weft*: They had likewise good hopes of Sir *William Courtney*, and that my Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent Captain *Walcot* down to him, who returned with a very cool Answer, that he found them not what he expected, but believed if it came to a Rising, they would prove right enough; I had almost forgot to acquaint your Majesty that both Mr. *Ferguson* and Mr. *Bayly* told me, That Mr. *Charleton* had once promised to see the Ten thousand pounds paid.

Thomas Shepard.

Jurat' Coram Me
June 27. 1683.

SUNDERLAND.

The Information of Joseph How of the Parish of St. Giles's without Cripplegate, in the County aforesaid, Distiller, taken upon Oath before Sir Reginald Forester Baronet, this 15th. day of June, 1683. against Thomas Lea of Old-street in the Parish aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, Dyer, for speaking of Dangerous and Seditious Words.

THIS Informant deposeth and saith, That the said *Thomas Lea*, being at his House in *White-Cross-street*, on *Thursday* last, between Two and Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, being the 14th of this Instant *June*: The said *Thomas Lea*, was Discoursing with him this Informant about the loss of the City Charter, and other things; upon which the said *Thomas Lea* fell into a Passion, and told this Informant that he was one of the number of Ten Thousand Men, which were designed to be ready at an hours warning, and in order thereunto, there was Twenty thousand pounds in Bank, to carry on the undertaking; and many more did every day subscribe Money or engage their personal affiance: And the first Enterprize they venture upon, is to go very near *Winfor*, and for to seize the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*; and that Three Hundred Men were designed for that Enterprize: And afterwards to seize the Militia, *Whitehal*, and the *Tower*: But this Informant answered that he judged it impossible, the *Tower* being now so very strong; But the said *Thomas Lea*, told him that he had been round the *Tower* in company with a Captain of a Ship, and had found out a place where a breach might be made, which is to be done by placing some Ships on the *Thames*-side, with Mortar-Pieces therein, to dismount the Guns; and also to bring the Major part of those Seamen which were in Arrears of Pay, to perform the Work, they being angry and in want, therefore the fitter for that purpose: And that for the better carrying of the Design, several Meetings are held (as this day for one) at the *Kings-Head Tavern* in *Atheist-Ally* near the *Royal-Exchange*, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; Further Informeth Not. *Joseph How.*

REGIN. FORESTER.

June

June 25. 1683. The Examination of Colonel John Romsey.

His Examinant saith, That in October or November last, there was an Insurrection intended by the Earl of Shafesbury, and that the said Earl of Shafesbury told this Examinant, that Bristol was to be his Post, and the Examinant being asked what Persons of Quality or Capacity to Command as Officers, were named as intended to take part in this Insurrection; He Answered, That he heard my Lord Russell named and complained of, and Mr. John Trenchard named by the Earl of Shafesbury; and this Examinant further saith, that Mr. West had acquainted him the said Mr. West, That there was an intention to Assassinate the King, at his coming from Newmarket in October last: The Examinant doth not remember whether the Duke was there or no, but that if he were, he was likewise to have been killed (as the said Romsey told this Examinant;) And this Examinant further saith, That about the latter end of November, or the beginning of December last, this Examinant having Matters of Law depending, became acquainted with Mr. Robert West, and employed him as his Referee therein; That the said West acquainted this Examinant with the Design to Murther the King at his coming from Newmarket in October last; and told this Examinant, That though it miscarried at that time, it was not to be given over so, and therefore desired that he, this Examinant, Mr. Richard Goodenough, and some others, which he cannot charge his Memory withal, should meet at his the said West's Chamber, where this Examinant and they did meet within three or four days after, to the best of this Examinants Remembrance, and there Discoursed about the same Design, and let it fall at that time; and this Examinant further saith, That about the Month of February last, the above-said Persons met with this Examinant at the said Mr. West's Chamber, to consider how the Design should be brought to effect, at the Kings return from Newmarket; and Mr. West and Mr. Richard Goodenough undertook to find out Men for that purpose. And this Examinant further saith, that about this time the said West and Goodenough did desire that this Ex-

aminant would be acquainted with *Richard Rumbald* of the *Rye* near *Hogsden* in *Hertfordshire*, who was the Man that would undertake to Command the Party that should take off the King and the Duke; and that at their desire, this Examinant did consent to a Meeting with the said *Rumbald*. When *Richard Goodenough* brought this Examinant to meet Mr. *Rumbald* at the *Angel Tavern* near the Old *Exchange*, the said *Rumbald* acquainted this Examinant how the Ground lay, and would have had him gone down to see it; but this Examinant refused it. And this Examinant further saith, That after that they had several Meetings, to try if they could make up the Number of Forty or Fifty Men for that purpose, under which Number the said *Rumbald* would not undertake it. And this Examinant further saith, That at their next Meeting two or three days before or after the Kings coming from *Newmarket* in *March* last, They did resolve that Arms should be bought against the next Journey to *Newmarket* in *Autumn* or any other opportunity, as at the *Play-House*, or coming from *Windsor*, to *Hampion-Court*, or otherwise: And that Mr. *Weft* did undertake to provide so many Cases of Pistols, so many Carabins, and so many Blunderbuffes, and this Examinant thinks Ten Musquets: And that it was resolved, that there should be Arms provided for Fifty Men at least: And this Examinant further saith, that the Men were to be divided, Some to Shoot the Postillion and Horses, Some to Fire upon the King and Duke into the Coach, and the remainder to Charge the Guards; And that there was also a Cart to be laid in the way, by which means the Coach should be hindred from going on: That the said *Rumbald* said at their next meeting, after the King's passing by his House, that there were but four of the Guards Attending the Coach, and that if he had had but a small number of Men with him, he could have taken off the King and the Duke with Ease: And this Examinant further saith, that at this last Meeting Captain *Walcot* was there present. And this Examinant further saith, that he did not meet again in five or six Weeks after with the said Company, tho' often prest by Mr. *Weft* that it was not fit to give it over. And this Examinant further saith, that this Examinant, the said *Goodenough*, *Weft*, *Walcot*, *Norton*, *Wade*, and *Holloway*, did Meet at Mr. *Weft*'s Chamber about three Weeks or a Month

Month since; and did then resolve to try what Men could be raised in *London* and the Liberties; and that they might be more certain, *London* was Divided into Twenty Parts; and Mr. *Hollomay*, Mr. *Wade*, and Mr. *Weft*, undertook to make the Division; and Mr. *Weft* and *Goodenough*, did undertake to find a Man for every Division that should bring in the certain number that they could Raise Respectively. And this Examinant further saith, that in the first Fortnight or thereabouts they did very little; but the next meeting after Mr. *Goodenough* brought in an account of seven Divisions, which amounted to Three thousand Nine hundred Men or thereabouts; and that he the said *Goodenough* did believe that the remaining Divisions would afford as many Men more: And it was further resolved at that time, that the Design in hand should be kept secret until such time as the return of the whole Divisions should be brought in.

And this Examinant being further asked, whether he did hear any Commanders or Commission-Officers Named to Command these Forces, he saith he heard of no particular Names, but in General that there were an Hundred old Officers about the Town; that after that they certainly knew how many Men all the Divisions would amount to they then resolved this Examinant should carry the Proposal of commanding these Forces to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but the Listings not being finished, he never said any thing of it to his Grace. And this Examinant further saith, that the pretence to make this Levy of Men was to assert Religion and Liberties. And this Examinant further saith, that there was a Declaration designed to be Published when these Forces should be up; but that to the best of his memory he never saw it nor heard it Read; but he believes some part of it was Discoursed of in this Examinants presence; as that touching Liberty of Conscience, and something Relating to the Law and the Judges. And this Examinant further saith, that to the best of his memory on *Tuesday* last was Sennight this Examinant, Captain *Walcot*, *Weft*, *Nelthorpe*, *Goodenough* and *Wade*, met at the *Salutation Tavern* in *Lombard-street*, to know what progres *Goodenough* had made in the other Thirteen Divisions, who told this Examinant and the rest, that he had done nothing since the last Meeting; but that he was to meet with some persons

sions that Afternoon, who were to give him a further Account: And this Examinant further saith that after they had Dined, one that was a Stranger to this Examinant came into the Room to speak with Mr. Goodenough, and that Mr. West asked him, if he had seen the *Gazette* of that Day, in which was a Relation of a Commotion in Cologne by one *Gulick*, and told him he should be our *Gulick*, for that in Dutch *Gu—* was *Keel* and *ick was ing*, telling this in a jesting manner. And this Examinant further saith that on Saturday last was Sennight, he this Examinant, Mr. West and Mr. Norton, met at the *George Tavern* upon *Ludgate-Hill*, and then this Examinant was told that a Discovery was made of what they had been doing, and at present this Examinant further saith not.

J. Romzey:

25 Die Junii 1683.
Capt. & Recognit. Coram,

Albermarle,
L. Jenkins.

Further Informations of Colonel Romzey.

Further this Examinant saith that Mr. Ferguson and the rest did in several Meetings since the beginning of February pres for the having the Men got ready that were to Kill the King and Duke, and it was told him by Mr. Goodenough and Richard Rumbald and West, that a great many were poor and could not furnish themselves with Horses or Arms: This was presently after his coming out of Holland. Mr. Ferguson replied, *he would provide the Money*. And in two Meetings afterwards he told them he had Six hundred pounds ready in Gold that they might depend on him, for when they had got the forty or fifty Men, under which number Richard Rumbald would not undertake it; and then Rumbald and the rest asked Ferguson at the first meeting we had, if he thought the Duke of Monmouth would not Revenge the Kings Death and Hang those that had been the Actors; Mr. Ferguson very freely undertook to have it under the Dukes Hand against the next meeting, but when we met, he told them there was no saying any such thing to the Duke, but he said that we must all be ruined

ruined if it were not done: Then they asked if the Duke would appear when it was done; to which he made answer, that a Person would be there, but he must be excused for naming any Names, and desired not to be pressed: I told them always they were not to trust to what Mr. Ferguson said, for he was so willing to have the most Barbarous Murther done that he would say any thing to encourage them to do it; such Discourse as this hapned several times at our meetings, some saying, When our Swords were in our Hands, if he would not protect them, that then he should be cut off too: Such Hellish Discourses as these we Entertained our selves with, until the News of the Firing of New-Market came to Town: and then Mr. Ferguson sent for most of us, and was earnest that *Good-enough* and *Rumbald* shoud get what Men they could, and that he could help them with Six, and that *Rumbald* shoud attempt it with as many as could be got, but it was given over for that time, because neither Arms nor Horses were ready; then he promised that he would immediately get the Six Hundred pounds into his own Hands to provide all things in a readiness against the first opportunity whether at the Play-House, between *Hampton-Court* and *Windsor*, or going to *Winchester*, and said that some persons were already out to see a fit place to do it in, and if it could not be done before that, then all things should be ready against the King and Dukes going down to *New-Market*, as Horses bought and kept in a readiness, and Arms, which Mr. *West* undertook to do, he being acquainted with a Gunsmith, and upon Mr. Ferguson's promise that he would procure the Money, Mr. *West* bespake the Arms, and they were ready in a very little time: But when Mr. *West* came and told Mr. Ferguson that the Arms were ready (for six Weeks now I did not see Ferguson, but Mr. *West* acquainted me with all passed as follows) he told the said *West* that his Friend had not brought him the Money as he promised; also Mr. *West* was forced to pay for the Arms out of his own Money, which was not repaid him as he told this Examinant not above twenty days since or thereabouts: The said *West* told this Examinant that Mr. Ferguson told him he might send for his Money when he would, by a Note to Major *Wildman*, but he must tell him the Name that he would make the Note Payable to, that he might tell the same

same to Major *Wildman*, the Name I have forgot. In some very few days after, as he the said *West* told this Examinant, the said *Ferguson* told him, that he must not send any Body or Note to receive the said Hundred pounds, but *Richard Rumbald*, because the said *Wildman* would not trust any body else ; *West* sent the said *Rumbald* very early one Morning, but the said Major *Wildman* was gone out of Town before he came to the House, which he went and acquainted the said *Ferguson* with. In a few days after the said *Ferguson* paid the said *West* a Hundred pounds in Gold, and as the said *West* then told this Examinant that the said *Ferguson* told him he did receive the said Hundred pounds of Mr. *Charlton*; and about fourteen days since the said *West* and this Examinant going to Mr. *Ferguson*, he told us that there was Three thousand pounds raised for to buy Horses, and to maintain them and the Men in a Readines, that if any opportunity offered all might be ready ; but did not tell us from whom he was to have this Mony, neither did either of us ask him any question about it. Further this Examinant saith, that to the best of his Remembrance, in January last, Mr. *Nelthorp* told this Examinant, that meeting Colonel *Sidney* he told him that now something would be done, for that it was resolved to send some persons into *Scotland* to some Gentlemen there to come to Town, that they might know what the Scots could do, but they knew not of a Man fit to send ; and the said *Nelthorp* told this Examinant that he recommended one Mr. *Aaron Smith* as a fit man. And further this Examinant saith, that the said *Nelthorp* told this Examinant that the Colonel and others had sent him (*Aaron Smith*) with a Letter to Sir *John Cochran* to advise him and his Friends to come to *London* about their *Carolina* affairs, and that a good Gelding was bought for him, or Mony given to him to buy one ; as also Mony was given him by Colonel *Owen* to pay his Expences on the Road, and also that some Mony was given to his Wife for her maintenance, she being in Poverty. Upon this Letter Sir *John Cochran* came to *London*, and some other Scotch Gentlemen, whose Names this Examinant does not know, but as the said *Nelthorp* and Mr. *Ferguson* did acquaint this Examinant, they were to Treat with some of this Nation what was to be done for the Delivery of the Nations : The said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that the Scotch

Scotch Gentlemen did acquaint those they Treated with, (not Naming any of their Names) that their People were in very great Poverty, but very willing to set themselves at Liberty, but they had no Arms nor Ammunition nor Money to buy any, and without they could let them have Money to furnish Arms and Ammunition they could do nothing. During this last Transaction of the Scots for Money I did not see Mr. Ferguson, but Mr. West who went constantly to him did tell me their Discourse, as that sometimes the Scotch Gentlemen were departing discontented, and then again in three or four days that they were like to agree and that Money should be provided for them: Often he told me of such changes as these in that Transaction, and that Mr. Ferguson did assure the said West, that the Money would be all paid in one Week; I answered the said West, who would have had me gone to Ferguson, that I would not see him until I was certain it was paid, for the said Ferguson undertook much and did nothing but promise what he could not do. There was a Debate what Declaration should be presently after the Murther of the King and Duke, and amongst other things a Free Parliament was one Head; Liberty of Conscience was another; That those that had their Lands taken from them at the Kings Restoration should have them returned: A Reformation of the Expensive part of the Law: Mr. Ferguson undertook that one should be ready: Mr. West did further acquaint this Examinant, that my Lord Howard had been at his Chamber to Pump him the said West what we were doing and that his Lordship did desire to have a meeting with the said West and this Examinant, which neither the said West nor this Examinant were willing to; and the said West did further acquaint this Examinant that my Lord Howard did propose a Council of Ten to meet; but we not consenting to meet, the said West did civilly put off the Proposition, as he the said West did Inform this Examinant. And further this Examinant saith, That Discoursing with Mr. West and Mr. Goodenough, and others about the Scotch Affair, they did tell me, That the last Spring there was a Treaty with the Earl of Argyle and that then without Money the Scots declared they could not begin, but that the Earl of Shaftesbury broke that Design, not consenting to pay the Money: This Examinant never heard any thing of this Design

sign, until the said *West*, *Norton*, and *Goodenough* did tell him thereof. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Nelthorpe* and Mr. *Wade* did always oppose the Murthering of the King and the Duke; and so did Captain *Walcot*, but at last the said *Walcot* consented. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Bourn*, and Mr. *Goodenough's* Brother were at some of the last Meetings about the raising of the Men: This Examinant saith, That to the best of his Memory he hath here set down every thing that was said or Transacted in the Debates when he was there, but he was absent for some.

J. Romsey.

Colonel Romzey's further Information;

THIS Examinant further saith that being sent by the Earl of *Shaftesbury* about the beginning of November last to Mr. *Shepards* a Merchant near *Lombard-street*, where was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Russel*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Mr. *Ferguson*; this Examinant told them my Lord *Shaftesbury* had sent him to tell them it was high time to come to some Resolution about the Rising: They made him this Answer by Mr. *Ferguson* (and afterwards my Lord *Grey* said words to the same effect) that Mr. *John Trenchard* had promised and assured them at his first coming to Town that Term, that he could in four hours time have a Thousand Foot and Two or Three Hundred Horse, but now they had sent to him to know the certainty, he had returned to them this following Answer. That Men would not be got from home on Two or Three days warning, but that when such a thing as a Rising should be, he must know it sooner, that he might acquaint Men to make Provision of Settlements for their Families, so they could not go on at this time any further. And for this reason and that they heard Sir *William Courtney* would not stir, my Lord must be contented. This Message I returned to my Lord: On this my Lord resolved to leave *England*: This Examinant further saith, That there was a Project of Government drawn up by Mr. *West* and Mr. *Wade* which they

they delivered to this Examinant and he gave it to Mr. Ferguson, who told them that he heard Colonel Sydney had drawn one, that he would compare them together and reduce them into one intire one. And this Examinant further saith that Mr. Nelthrop told him that my Lord of Essex, my Lord Russel, Colonel Sydney, and young Mr. Hampden were the persons that did Treat with the Scotch Gentlemen, and so did Mr. West, and I think Mr. Ferguson. Mr. Nelthrop and Mr. West, during the time I did not see Mr. Ferguson, told me that now they were resolved to raise Ten thousand pounds for the Scots and that next Week it should all be paid in. That was about a Month since. But they had been with Mr. Shepard the Merchant, and he told them there was none paid. This Money was to buy Arms in Holland. Mr. Ferguson told this Examinant the Rising must be in Scotland before Harvest or else their people would not be got together, and that in four days after the Scots were up we should have the first Intelligence and that then we must Rise in this Town and in Taunton. My Lord Howard was at first one with my Lord Essex and the rest, but he told Captain Walcot and Mr. West what passed amongst them, for which reason he was left out of the meetings. Further this Examinant saith that Mr. Wade and Holloway told him how they had fixed the matter for Bristol; that they were sure of Three hundred Men, and that they would Post them in all the Cross Streets, so that none of the other party should get together in a Body or out of their Houses. By this means they should be Masters of the Town without spilling one drop of Blood. And this Examinant further saith that Goodenough told Wade, West, and this Examinant that about Twenty five hundred Arms would be wanting for the Men that would Rise here; for without they were Armed that were on the first to Rise here, we should be beat; therefore West and this Examinant did acquaint Mr. Ferguson from the rest that did meet, of the necessity of having so many Arms. He replied, Money should not be wanting; but how so many Arms could be bought without a Discovery? Mr. West did undertake that if Money were given, the Arms might be had; and some person of the Company did name a Gunsmith that was an honest Man that might without suspition have two or three hundred Arms, and other Gunsmiths might, if enquired after, be found, that might

might lodge proportionable quantities in their Shops, and the Men should be led to these Shops and Armed. It was said by Goodenough that six hundred Arms were together in the Artillery-Ground which might be easily seized on. Many debates we had about the Tower; some proposed the taking of it by day-time, by sending some Men in only with Pocket Pistols, and when the Sign was given they were to fall on the Guard; but this was left off as not agreeing with a Rising by night; and then the other way was to clap two or three hundred Fagots to the Gates, and set them on Fire, which would make those within surrender, and that Ships should come and lye before the Tower and batter it at the same time the Fagots were on Fire.

J. Romsey.

Colonel Romsey's Letter to the Earl of Rochester concerning the Scotch Pedlars.

My Lord,

When the Rising was to have been in November, Mr. Ferguson did say that he could promise for Three hundred Scots in this Town that would be ready at a days warning, and that there was in England Twelve Hundred that might be depended upon; that three or four hundred did always abide here, the rest were scattered throughout England with Packs on their Backs for the maintenance of themselves; that a great many of them were Gentlemen's Sons and all of them had been at Bothwel-Bridge, and took them to this way to get (and carry) Intelligence as well as a living.

J. Romsey.

Another,

Another Letter from Colonel Romzey to
the Earl of Rochester.

My Lord,

I Do not know whether I have already in any of my Papers where I mention Mr. Roe, acquainted the King of one passage he told me, (but I think I have) that Gibbons the Duke of Monmouths Foot-man did tell him, that nothing but taking off the two Brothers would do the business, and if he would go with him, he would shew him the place to do it; he carried him to my Lord of Bedfords Garden, where I think he told me is a Mount to look into Covent-Garden, and said no place can be like this to lodge Men in to do the Feat, and shewed him the Garden-door where they might make a sally on the Coach if they mist with their fire. Mr. Roe asked him, But how will you bring the Men in? He told him my Lord was long in the Country, and he was so well acquainted with the Porter and Servants that he could have the Key at any time. The said Gibbons told Sir Thomas Armstrong as if Roe had proposed it to Gibbons, and Sir Thomas came to me in a great Passion and told me what I have related, and bid me speak to Roe to warn him of talking of any such thing. When I did speak to Roe he Confessed the thing, but that Gibbons moved it to him, for he knew not any thing of my Lord of Bedfords Garden or Servants.

This was to be done as the King came from the Play. I cannot recollect whether I was twice at Mr. Shepards with the Duke of Monmouth, &c. or but once; but if I was but once, then I heard Mr. Ferguson relate to my Lord of Shaftsbury some part of their Debates at another time, as that they had resolved of the 19th of November for the Rising and some heads of a Declaration: Whether I heard this Debate at Mr. Shepards or at my Lord Shafsburies Lodgings I cannot be positive in, but Mr. Shepard I believe may remember.

J. Romzey.

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The further Information of Colonel Romzey.

This Examinant further saith, That Mr. Ferguson was at this Examinants Houle for seven or eight nights, intermitting a night two or three, which time he told me he went to his Wife. During the time he was at my Houle, the Duke of Monmouth came to see him, to the best of my remembrance twice; the first time I was with them, and all the discourse that passed was about my Lord Shaftesbury's death, and relating to the Affairs of Holland and the Confederates, the Duke not staying a quarter of an hour. The next time I was not in the room with them. Sir Thomas Armstrong came several times in a Morning to see him, sometimes before I was stirring; the first time I shewed him the room where he lay, and did not go in with him, but went to dress me, I being in my shirt.

Andrew Barbers Informations read in Council, 23 June, 1683.

ON Saturday Morning, about the latter end of March last past, Mr. Keeling came to me, and told me that he and some other Friends of mine would have me come to the Mitre-Tavern within Aldgate, because they would drink a glafs of Wine with me; and there I came to them, and found Mr. Rumbald, an one Eyed man, Mr. Keeling, Burton, and Thompson, I sat down with them and drank; soon after Mr. Rumbald fell into Discourse concerning getting of Arms to his Houle; he was speaking he thought it would be a good way to send them in a Barge, but he concluded twould not be safe; but said, He thought that those that would be concerned should ride with Arms themselves betimes

betimes in the Morning or in the Night and so come to his House, and there they should be refreshed and their Horses, till he should order them what to do. Some I understand were to continue on Horseback, and they that were to kill the Horses, Coachman, and Postillion, and to shoot into the Coach were to be on foot; and he would order Carts to be set cross the Road for to hinder them. So then *Rumbald* asked if we could shoot well, I told him I could not, I never shot at a mark in my life; the others said, let them alone for that; says *Keeling*, he is a good Souldier and a lusty man, what do you think of him? so I answered I was no Souldier fit for that work, and said that it would be Murder to Kill, and he said it would be a means not to Kill, but to save many thousand mens Lives. When I had done, he said he would order some to bring word what Coach by the colour of the Horses, that they may not be mistaken, for this was to be as I understood in *Rumbalds* own ground, for his House joyns to the Road; and he said they must come by his House to come to *London*, so he said he would ingage his Life to do it, if he had but Thirty men, but he expected Forty: and for Horses Mr. *Keeling* said, He would get as many as he could, but it was not concluded on, by reason *Rumbald* did expect to have seen more at that place, but Mr. *Keeling* promised him they should be ready at the next Meeting, which was to be the next *Wednesday* after, as I remember, but then I resolved never to come into their company more, nor be concerned with them, because I did understand there would be Murther committed, nor have been in their company since, nor I never saw that *Rumbald* before nor since. Likewise I replied, If you should do so, how will you escape? *Rumbald* answered, He would fight his way through, and separate themselves into By-roads, and make what way they could for *London*, and then they should do well enough. Moreover *Rumbald* said, that there was never above one or two that rid before the Coach; and likewise, if they could get to *Cambridge-Heath* or thereabouts, they should have friends enough for their help. All this time I never heard that this was intended against the King, for he was never mentioned in any respect, that I did understand, but I did verily believe that it was meant by his Royal Highnes. So we paid our reckoning, which was I think six pence apiece, and they went towards

the Exchange, but I directly home, and have not been in their company since, nor no other tending to such evil work.

Andrew Barber.

In the Gate-house the 29th June, 83. Major Holmes Confessed.

THAT in order to the late Earl of Argyle's going into Scotland, and raising a Rebellion there, he had proposed that 30000 £ Sterling should be sent to him from hence, by some great persons, with whom a Treaty was held for that purpose by Ferguson; but that they refused to advance so great a sum, yet condescended to send him 10000 £. which Holmes knoweth not whether the late Earl hath accepted of, as sufficient for effectuating that design.

Upon his being ask'd who were the great men by whose means the Mony was to be advanced, he protested that he had never conversed with any of them, but that he had heard often the Duke of Monmouth, and particularly the Lord Russell named; and as to the Lord Grey, he did not remember that his Lordship was mentioned unto him in the matter of Mony, but did confess that he had frequently been told of his being ingaged in, and a promoter of the design in general.

He confessed that the Letter marked Numb. 2. is from the Countess of Argyle to her Husband, and that he was to have sent it away by the Post last Tuesday into Holland, had he not been taken into Custody. That it was directed for Peter Harvie Linnen Weaver (which is not a true name) in Bow-Church-yard, and was left at one Mr. Browns House a Sider-Seller there, where Holmes usually received her Letters under that borrowed name, but saith that he cannot decypher this, nor any of her Letters.

As to the long Letter marked Numb. 3. he protests he cannnot Decypher it, nor can positively say for whom it was to have been directed, yet thinks it was to have been carried

carried by *Carstairs* to *Ferguson*, and by him to the chief men concerned in the Design.

Upon inquiring what is become of the parcel of Books, which are the Printed Case of the Earl of *Argyle*, and in what method they were brought over from *Holland*, he confessed that they had been shipped on board of a Vessel, called (to the best of his memory) the *Success* of *Colchester*, bound for *London*, and that *Spence* was afterwards to come in the Passage Boat designed to have come to *Gravesend*, but that the wind having been very cross, he came on shore at, or somewhat near *Harwich*, from whence he came by Land to *London*.

Upon asking what was meant by the Figures 80 and 81, in the Letters marked *Numb. 5.* he said he did not well remember, but when I told him that I knew by the Cypher, Many was meant by 50, and Officers by 51, he confessed that it was so; whereupon I did observe to him, that as the late Earl was to have had Many, so he was to have been furnished with Officers for the carrying on the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which also he confessed, but said withal, that this Letter was intended for his Lady, which he knew by a mark on the back, and shewed it to me.

*The Examination of Robert Blaney of
the Middle Temple Esq; 29 June,
83.*

THIS EXAMINANT DEPOSETH AND FAITH, THAT THIS DEONENT was invited about *Christmas* last, on *Wednesday* the 27th day of *December* last, (as near as he can remember) by *John Row*, late Sword-bearer of the City of *Bristol*, to Dine with Colonel *John Romsey* at his House in *Scho-Square*, where were present the said Colonel *Romsey*, *Robert W^{if}*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Joseph Tylly* of *Lincolns Inn Esq;* *Christopher Battifcomb Gent.* and the said *John Row*, and this Examinant; where being together after Dinner, and much Wine and other strong drink drank in the said company, a

Discourse was began, but by whom this Examinant cannot remember, about the times being very bad and dangerous for Sober Men, and what Remedies were fit to redress Grievances, and rid our selves of Arbitrary Power, or to that effect ; and it was there likewise discoursed and said, but by whom in particular this Examinant cannot exactly remember, it being so long since, that we should never be well till we were rid of two people, by whom as this Examinant did apprehend, were meant His Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke of York. And it was likewise said, That if the Great People did but agree to Joyn and Rife, or words to that effect, it might be done, for the Countries were all willing and ready ; then as this Examinant doth remember by some one, it was in the said Company proposed, and as he verily believes by the said Mr. *Weft*, that either a Deed of Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release (one of them it was) should be executed to bar both Him in Possession, and Him in Remainder ; by which as this Examinant did then apprehend, was meant the taking off His Majesty and his Royal Highnes, and so he believes the rest of the said company did also. And a glass of Wine did pass round the said Table as a Health to the Executing of the said Bargain and Sale, or Lease and Release, (which he cannot tell, but one of them it was.) And this Examinant further saith, That he never was present at any other Consultation with the before-named persons, or any others about the Death of the King, or his Royal Highness, or the raising of any Rebellion, that this Examinant can remember ; except that being very frequently as a familiar Acquaintance with the said Mr. *Weft*, he hath often asked him, and the said Colonel *Romzey*, whether the Great Men would do any thing, and whether any businesse would be done ; or he used words to that effect, but they did constantly as this Examinant remembers answer him, No, that nothing would be done ; and the said Colonel *Romzey* seemed (as this Examinant did apprehend) to be very shy of him this Examinant ; and much like Discourse this Examinant hath had with the said *Goodenoughs*, but never was as he remembers acquainted with the prosecution or particulars of such a Design in the least. And one *Nathaniel Wade* also this Examinant hath had some such Discourse with, about freeing our selves from Arbitrary Power and Popery by a general Rising, but any particular ways and

and methods for the same, or otherwise, this Examinant never knew of, or was privy to. And further at present this Deponent cannot recollect.

Robert Blaney.

29 Jun. 83. *Jurat coram me*

L. Jenkins.

The further Examination of Robert Blaney, July 1. 83.

Who saith, That he saw *Ferguson* since the Earl of *Shaftsburies* death, in the House of one *Bourne* a Brewer, living in *Queen-street* over against the Lord Keepers; that it was about a quarter of a year since; that *Ferguson* was in a Night-gown, and therefore he believes he lay in that House; that the Discourse they had was about the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and his death.

This Examinant saith, That about three weeks after the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had concealed himself, he saw him at a Merchants House, whose name he remembers not, but the House is in *Woodstreet*, near St. *Albans* Church, the corner House, having a little Yard before it, next door to a House that was one Mr. *Biddolphs*.

He saith, He knows nothing of the manner of the Earl of *Shaftsburyes* Escape, nor of *Fergusons*, nor knows no other places but the abovementioned, where either of them were at any time concealed.

He remembers that he was twice or thrice at the Sign of the Sugar-loaf, near the Devil-Tavern with *Ferguson*, and once with another person, who he thinks was young *Shute*, about the time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* absented himself; but that *Ferguson* was not then disguised, but in the Habit he used commonly to wear, which was a Russet colour Campane Coat, and a brown short Periwig.

Thomas Lee Dyer of Old-street, his Confession, 1, and 2 July, 1683.

I Having been often in the Company of Mr. John Atherton, he told me, about last May, that Mr. Goodenough must speak with me, and Mr. William Thomas. We went to the Salutation-Tavern in Lombard-street, Mr. Goodenough came to tell us, and then drew out some Papers, (but I saw not what was in them) and there told us that our Rights and Privileges were Invaded and that some Gentlemen had taken into consideration how to retrieve them or words to that effect; and did then ask us whether we were willing to assist, and then told us that the City and Suburbs were divided into Twenty parts, and did desire us to see what men we could get, and told us, that we must discourse with them about a Foreign Invasion at first, and if that took, then we might know of them, whether they would be willing to assist in their own Persons, or by Money; Some time after we met Mr. Goodenough at the Amsterdam Coffee-house in Bartholomew-lane; I told him that I had acquainted Mr. Charles Bateman and he desired to speak with Mr. Goodenough. That Mr. Bateman told me I must have a care, and speak at a great distance, that he was willing to assist, if he could see but a cloud as big as a mans hand, and after I called on Mr. Bateman, and went with him to a Sea-Captains, and from thence to the Duke of Monmouth's House in Soho Square. As we went, Mr. Bateman told me that the Duke had told him, That he was glad that ever he came acquainted with those Protestant Lords; and did assure me that the Duke was very right for the Protestant Interest and that we need not mistrust him, and then we called to see Mr. Goodenough, but were too late. The same afternoon I went to see for Mr. Goodenough and found him at the Dolphin-Tavern in Bartholomew-lane and I appointed him to come to the Kings-head in Swithens-alley in Cornhill; where he came and told me, That they were making ready and asked me what I had done in that matter? I told him not much, because I doubted they were not prepared with Money and Arms, he told me that they had both. I asked him

him what store of Mony they had? he told me, Twenty thousand pounds, and then we went into company, and talked no more about that Affair. Some days after I met with him again, and he told me, that he had seen Mr. *Batemans*, and that he hoped he would be very serviceable, and asked me what that *Southwark* man was? I told him he was very honest and willing, and that I had spoken with him, and he desired that he might speak with him. I called him, and they discoursed together alone, and after that he asked me, who that ancient Gentleman was, I told him, that he was an old Souldier and that his Name was *Franks*? he desired me to call him, and I did, and discoursed the matter, and he not hearing of it before, was a little surprized; but said, that he was willing to fight for Priviledge, which he thought was Invaded, but not for Religion. The next day I went to meet Mr. *Goodenough* at *Richards Coffee-house* at *Temple-bar*; there I met with Mr. *Hone*, and he had me over to the *Kings-head-Tavern*, and there told me, it had been our great mischief, that there had not been an understanding betwixt the Cavaliers and us; that there were a great many brave men about the *Temple*, and that the job had been done upon the *Black-Bird* and *Gold-Finch* some time before, if it had not been for an accident that happened at *Newmarket*. Soon after came in Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, and Mr. *Hone* told me that I might be free with him. We discoursed about the matter, he said they were making all things in a readines against their coming from *Windfor*, and that he thought they must get Three hundred Horse to seize them coming from *Windfor*. Some time after I met with Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, and asked him what readines things were in, he told me that in few days he thought he should have an account how many men they could raise. I told him that I had spoken with Mr. *Rous*, and that he could help them to Arms for a Hundred men; and that a way was propos'd how to raise a Thousand Seamen, if they would be at the charge of a Golden Ball to be played upon *Black-beath*. He asked me what the Ball would cost? I told him, I was informed about Twelve pounds. He said, if it were Forty, they would be at the charge of it. Then he desired to speak with Mr. *Rous*, and appointed to meet him at the *Kings-head-Tavern* in *Swithin-alley*, and they met and went into

a room apart, and afterwards we went to *Josephs* Coffee house in *Exchange-alley*, and Mr. *Rous* told me, that he would see and get Ten Sea-Captains to manage that Affair. The next day I met with Mr. *Rous* at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-house, there he spoke with two Captains, as he told me, and from thence he went with them to the *Angel* and *Crown-Tavern* in *Thredneedle-street*, but I did not go with them. I saw him afterwards at the *Kings-head*, and he told me, he must have Mr. *Goodenough* go with him to *Wapping*, I acquainted Mr. *Goodenough* with it, and he told me, That that Busines of the *Tower* was left to some men, that understood those Affairs better than himself, and that they must be in a readiness to do all together; I asked him what that was, he told me they must Seize the *Tower*, and take the City, and secure the *Savoy* and *Whitehal*, and the King and the Duke. Sometime after I met Mr. *Francis Goodenough* in *Westminster-ball*, he had me behind *Kidals* Coffee-house, and told me, that the Country-Gentry were ready, and said, He desired it might not be delayed long. The next time I saw Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, was at the *Kings-head*. I called at Mr *Jenkes*, and understood that he had almost dined, and I left word that I was gone thither, and he came to me, and I told him I had spoke with one in *Old-street*, and that he was willing to assist with Mony, and another in *White-cross-street*, that told me, that he would assist himself, and had Arms for Ten men, and Mr. *Goodenough* told me, that they were about Summing up their Men, and that they should be ready in a fortnight or less.

*The Examination of Hicks living
in Friday-street London, taken before
His Majesty the third of July, 1683.*

Who saith, that he did hear from *Wade* (as he thinketh) that the City was to be divided into parts, and that *Wade* told him, there would be a Rising of the Papists to cut all their Throats, to which he had answered, That he did not believe it; But that the Law of Nature taught him to stand upon his own defence.

fence. And that he the Examinant further adding; That this Imported Evil and that he would not consent to it. Wade then replied, He the Examinant must perish then by himself.

*The Examination of Robert West of the
Middle-Temple Barrister at Law, taken
the 23 of June 1683.*

This Examinant saith, He having a general acquaintance with those of the City of *London*, that are commonly called *Whiggs*; observed about Michaelmas last a general discontent amongst them, by reason (as he apprehends) of the Elections that had gone before of the Mayor and Sheriffs, and of their apprehensions of the loss of their Charter: whereon this Examinant fearing that their hearts might transport them to commit some extravagancies, and to prevent his own Families being ruined by them, was very inquisitive to know whether any Insurrection might be designed. And this Examinant after sometime, was inform'd by some persons, who at present he cannot remember, that an Insurrection was intended in November last in the City of *London*, but the particulars of it this Examinant was never acquainted with; and he heard soon after that the Design was wholly laid aside. And this Examinant further saith, That about the time His Majesty came from *Newmarket*, in or about *October* last, he heard that there was a Design to seize the King and the Duke of *York*; but this Examinant does not know the place where, nor the persons who were to act therein. And this Examinant further saith, That about the latter end of *October*, or the beginning of *November* last, this Examinant met with Mr. *Robert Ferguson*, whom he had been long acquainted with, and the said Mr. *Ferguson* gave this Examinant an account of the great miseries the people of *Scotland* lay under, and did believe the people of *England* would suffer the like, and Popery overrun the Nation, unless the people themselves endeavoured to prevent it. And told this Examinant, That two ways had been thought on (but named not by whom) one by a general

neral Insurrection in several parts of the Kingdom, and the other a more Compendious and safe way of taking away the King and Duke by some surprize in some Journey. To which this Examinant answered to this effect, to wit, That he looked upon the first Method to be impracticable and full of hazard, the Militia, Navy, Forts, and Ammunition being in the hands of the Government, and the people as it were naked; and such an attempt might intail a long and Bloody War upon the Nation, and must end in the destruction of the King and Duke, or else it would be in vain. And therefore the second Method of taking them off by surprize was most rational, if there were a necessity of doing the one thing or the other. And this Examinant further saith, That after this Discourse, the said Mr. Ferguson went into Holland, and after his return from thence, had several Discourses with this Examinant to the same effect, concerning the destroying the King and the Duke; and that there would be an opportunity shortly of doing it, either upon the King and Dukes going to, or coming from Newmarker.

This Examinant further saith, That soon after the said Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Richard Goodenough, Mr. Richard Rumbald, this Examinant, and sometimes Colonel Romzey (so called) and Capt. Walcot met, sometimes at this Examinants Chamber, and sometimes at other places, where they used to debate and consider of the Method of putting the Design of Killing the King and the Duke in Execution.

And this Examinant further saith, That none of the persons above mentioned, save Richard Rumbald only, was to act in person, in the said Attempt, but the said Robert Ferguson, Richard Rumbald and Richard Goodenough undertook to provide the persons to make the said attempt, which persons were to be forty at least, and fifty if they could procure them.

This Examinant further saith, That there was also a further debate what sort of Arms should be made use of in the Attempt: And it was agreed there should be Blunderbusses, Muskets or Carbines, and Pistols; but how the said Arms should be carried down, whether before-hand, or by the persons on Horseback, this Examinant does not remember they came to any resolution.

This Examinant further saith, That it was resolved that some

some of the persons who were to make the Attempt should kill one or more of the Horses in the Kings Coach, and then one party should set upon the Coach and shoot into it, and another party fight the Guards; and if there should be occasion, a Cart should be overturned in the Road on purpose to stop the Coach.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the said Resolution above-taken, this Examinant was much troubled in his mind, and endeavoured to represent several difficulties and hazards in the thing, and the ill consequences thereof whether it succeeded or not, with an intention to have diverted the thing.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Fire at *Newmarket*, and before the Kings return from thence sooner than was expected, this Examinant and the other persons above-mentioned met at this Examinants Chamber, where because they had no certain intelligence how long the King would stay there before his return to *London*, it was agreed, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, that the Attempt should be then wholly laid aside.

And this Examinat further saith, That some short time after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, there being a Discourse at a Tavern in the City between this Examinant and the said *Rumbald*, and one *John Keeling*, concerning the disappointment of their said Attempt, in not having the Arms ready; and the said *Keeling* openly mentioning Blunderbusses, Muskets, and Pistols, this Examinant advised him to call the said Arms by the names of *Swan-Quills*, *Goose-Quills*, and *Crow-Quills*, that the Drawers might not take notice.

And this Examinant further saith, That at the same Tavern, the said *Richard Rumbald* told this Examinant, and the said *Keeling*, that the King came by his House with a slender Guard of Six Horse, much tyred, and that Six Men well provided might have made the Attempt and succeeded in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That some short time after, it was agreed by this Examinant, the said *Ferguson*, *Rumbald* and *Goodenough*, that some Arms should be bought to be in a readiness for any occasion: And because this Examinant was no otherwise capable to serve in any such Design, it was proposed to him and he undertook to buy some Arms;

Arms ; and accordingly this Examinant bespake of one *Daft a Gunsmith in Sheer-line*, 30 Case of Pistols, 30 Carbines with Belts and Swivels, and 10 Blunderbusses, besides Bullets and Flints, on pretence of sending the same into *America*, but the same were not entred at the Custom-house till Tuesday last, although this Examinant did design to have done so fix weeks before.

And this Examinant further saith, That being at a Tavern about three weeks or a month fince with *Nathaniel Wade, Richard Nelthorp* and others, where the said Mr. *Nelthorp* was reading a *Gazette*, wherein there were Relations of Tumults at *Cologne*, abetted by one *Gulick*, the said *Keeling* came into the Room to speak with one of the Company, and Mr. *Nelthorp* in a jesting manner called the said *Keeling, Gulick*; whereupon the said *Keeling* said to this Examinant, *What think you for all your jesting, if I and some few more of my Friends should save the City Charter and the Nation?* or words to this effect. To whom this Examinant replied, he would do very well to do so: but then asked him the manner how he would do it? To which he answered, That no body should know it till they had done; but hoped he should not be hanged for't: Upon which words this Examinant suspecting the said *Keeling* meant some extravagant thing, bid him take care not to do any foolish thing and ruine the Protestants.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Easter* last some Discourses were had concerning the making some attempt upon the King and Duke, between *Windfor* and *Hampton-Court*, but no resolution therein was ever taken to this Examinants knowledge or remembrance.

This Examinant further saith, That there was some Considerations lately had how to make an Estimate of the strength of the Protestant Party, in case they should be put upon their own Defence; when it was agreed that the City and Suburbs should be divided into twenty parts, and that some person well acquainted in each Division, should enquire into and make a return of the number he should find: which returns are not yet made to the Examinants knowledge: And more this Examinant for the present saith not.

Robert West.

23 Die Junij, 1683. Capt. & recognit' coram me

L. J E N K I N S.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
Barrister at Law of the Middle-Temple,
the 24th of June, 1683.*

THIS EXAMINANT saith, That he was informed of the Insurrection in his former Examination mentioned to have been designed in November last by *Thomas Walcot*, who told this Examinant that the same was projected by the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and was to have been put in execution the 19th of November last, but that he looked upon it as a mad thing, which he had no thoughts to engage in; and afterwards told this Examinant that it was wholly laid aside.

And this Examinant further saith, That to the best of his remembrance *Francis Shute* lately deceased was the person who acquainted this Examinant that an Assassination of the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket* in or about October last had been intended, and that he heard the same from *Mr. Ferguson*; and this Examinant asking *Mr. Ferguson* about it, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that it had not been thought of time enough, and therefore could not be done, or words to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That he discoursing with the said *Ferguson* concerning the late intended Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from *Newmarket*, asked the said *Ferguson* what care was taken to justify the same, if in case it took effect, for that the other party might in revenge shed a great deal of Blood, and immediately proclaim the Prince of *Orange*, which would overthrow the whole Design. To which he answered me, That care would be taken about it, and that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and most of the Lieutenancy shou'd be secured. But when this Examinant desired to know what persons were to be concerned, he bad this Examinant ask no questions, for things would be managed well, as he said; and that if *London* was secured, all *England* would fall in.

And this Examinant further saith, That when this Examinant asked the said *Ferguson* whither any Declaration

was

was prepared to be published upon such occasion? he told this Examinant that it had been considered of and was ready, and would be printed ready to be dispersed: but when this Examinant asked him how it should be done, he answered it was assuredly so, but this Examinant must ask no questions.

And this Examinant further saith, That before this Examinant bespake the Arms mentioned in his former Examinations, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that he would give this Examinant Money to pay for them, for he had five or six hundred pounds at Command, but he paid not the Money to this Examinant till about three weeks or a month since, and then paid it this Examinant in ninety three Guineys, but would not tell this Examinant of whom he had the said Money. And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the *Scots* intended to make some Insurrection in *Scotland* this Summer, but were not well able to do so without the assistance of ten thousand pounds, or some other great sum to buy Arms for them, which he had hopes of getting for them, and that they expected, and he hoped they would be seconded by a party in *England*, both in *London* and in the Northern and Western parts. And when this Examinant asked him what persons of Note would engage in it, and what method they would use; He answered, *First let us find our strength, and if there be encouragement from that, you will not want men of Quality to take their Post, but you must excuse me from naming of them till there be occasion.* And this Examinant further saith, that though he frequently enquired whether any Money had been paid to the *Scots*, he could not certainly be informed that any Money had been paid.

And further this Examinant saith, that the Arms in his former Examinations particularly mentioned were directed by the Company then present to be bespoken.

And further this Examinant saith, That he hath been, often in company with Mr. *Edward Norton* of *Dorsetshire* as this Examinant doth believe, with *Nathaniel Wade* a Barrister at Law and *Francis Goodenough* an Attorney at Law, at the Castle-Tavern in *Fleetstreet*, and at the Green-Dragon Tavern upon *Snow-hill*; where some Discourses were held concerning an Insurrection in *Scotland* and

and of one in *England*, if there should be occasion or be thought requisite; at which time the said Parties last mentioned, declared they would not be wanting to act their parts therein. And this Examinant further saith not.

Robert West.

24 Junii Capt. & recognit.
coram me

L. JENKINS.

*The further Examination of Robert West,
taken by my Lord Keeper the 25th of
June, 1683.*

His Examinant further saith, That *Robert Ferguson* in his two former Examinations named, told and sent this Examinant word by a Note, That if this Examinant would send to Major *John Wildman* (commonly so called) he would pay a hundred pounds for the Arms in this Examinants farther Examinations mentioned to be bought by this Examinant; and this Examinant not being willing to speak with the said *Wildman* himself, sent *Richard Rumbald* to receive the Mony; but the said *Wildman* was gone out of Town before the said *Rumbald* did call at his House. And this Examinant further saith, That upon some discourse at one of the Meetings in his former Examinations mentioned, it was proposed, whether some of the chief Ministers of State, particularly the Lord Keeper, the Lord Marques of *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Rochester* that now is, should be killed, and it was agreed that it was very necessary they shold be kllied; but no particular persons were

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appointed to do it, as this Examinant remembers, it being thought almost impossible for any of the said Ministers to escape. And further, this Examinant saith not.

Robert West.

25 Junii 1683.
Cap. & recognit. coram me

F. NORTH, C. S.

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at
Law, taken before Mr. Secretary Jenkins
the 26th of June, 1683.*

This Examinant further saith, That some time in the last Spring, and to the best of this Examinants remembrance, whilst the King was at Newmarket, Francis Shute, late deceas'd, came to this Examinant with a Message from the Lord Howard of Escrick; as he told this Examinant, to this effect, viz. That the Lord Howard had a Project for raising a Body of Men to make an Insurrection, and desired this Examinants concurrence and assistance in it; and shortly after, the Lord Howard and Mr. Shute came to this Examinants Chamber in the Temple, where the Lord Howard told this Examinant, That except some Effort were made by the People towards saving their Liberties and Religion, all would be lost; or used words to that effect. And this Examinant telling his Lordship that he saw no way of doing so, that did not endanger the People more in case of a miscarriage, his Lordship told this Deponent, he had thought of a method feasible in his opinion, and it was this, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, viz. That Ten Men of Skill and Conduct in Martial Affairs, should meet, and each chuse to himself Ten men whom he might use, that every of these Ten should raise Twenty Men, so as to make up

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a Body of Two thousand Men: that empty Houses should be taken for these Men, as near the several Gates of the City and other convenient Posts, as could be: that the night before the Execution intended, the Men should be got into those Houses, and acquainted with the Execution; such as refused should be clapt into the Cellars, and the rest sally out at the most convenient Hour, and seize and shut up the Gates, and then demand the Inhabitants Arms; and he doubted not but they would deliver them and People enough come into assistance. His Lordship named Col. *Romzey*, Col. *Danvers*, Mr. *Clare* and three others whom this Examinant hath forgotten, for Six of the principal Ten, and desired this Examinant to speak to them to consider of the Project and fill up the number of Ten; but this Examinant having no mind to engage in it, only told Col. *Romzey* of it and none other of the Parties above-named, who told this Examinant he would not meddle in it, and advised this Examinant to proceed no further; and when the said Lord *Howard* came to this Examinant for an Answer, this Examinant told his Lordship, that he could meet with no encouragement; whereupon his Lordship replied he could make as good a shift as other Men, and he would trouble himself no further and came not since to this Examinant.

And this Examinant further saith, That the said Lord *Howard* at another time told this Examinant at a Tavern in the City, That he thought it no difficulty with 50 Horse to surprize the King, Duke, and all the Court at *Newmarket*, by beating up their Quarters about break of day; but this Examinant told the said Lord *Howard* it was impossible to get such a Body to so great a distance unobserved, at which his Lordship seem'd convinc'd.

And this Deponent further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that the Arms to be bought with the said Ten thousand pound, lay ready provided in *Holland* to be Transported for *Scotland*, and that the Earl of *Argyle* would go over with them and Head the *Scots* in Person; and that one English Lord offered to pay the whole Ten thousand pounds by Mortgaging his Estate, if the rest of the Managers would have secured him their Proportions. But he should not name the Lord's

Name then, but since the said Ferguson told this Examinate it was the Lord Gry. And further this Examinate saith not.

Robert West.

26. Die Junii, 1683.
Capt. & recognit. coram me.

L. JENKINS.

The further Examination of Robert West of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.

THIS EXAMINANT saith, THAT he was informed by Mr. Ferguson, and to the best of his remembrance, by Col. Remzey likewise, that the late Earl of Shaftesbury advised the Duke of Monmouth when he went into Cheshire in September last, that if his Grace were attended with a good appearance of Gentlemen and Freeholders there, his Grace should set up and declare for a Free Parliament. And that when his Grace was taken into custody by a Messenger, the said Earl of Shaftesbury advised that the said Messenger should be killed and his Grace return into Cheshire and declare as above, or else Post into the West of England and set up there. But his Grace and the Lord Grey of Wark were of another Opinion, viz. That his Grace should Surrender himself, which his Grace did accordingly.

And this Examinant further saith, That since the Insurrection intended in November last was laid aside, this Examinant was informed by Col. Remzey, that one great reason of its being laid aside, was, that one Mr. John Trenchard on whom there was a great Reliance for a considerable Body of Men in the West, viz. at Taunton, would not undertake to procure such a Body, for which he was much reproached by the Lord Grey,

And

And this Examinant further saith. That some time before Mr. Ferguson went over into Holland, the said Ferguson, this Examinant, and one Mr. John Roe late Sword-Bearer of Bristol were together at the Young Devil Tavern in Fleet-Street, where some discourse was had concerning the killing the King and Duke of York, and of a general Insurrection; but this Examinant cannot remember any particular passages of that Discourse.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the said Ferguson went for Holland, viz. about Christmas last Col. Remzey, this Examinant, Richard Goodenough, and the said Roe, several times met and discoursed concerning the said Design against the King and Duke, as also of a general Insurrection, which they distinguished by the names of the Lopping Point, and General Point: One of which Meetings, to the best of this Examinate's remembrance, was at this Examinate's Chamber in the Temple, where were present besides Col. Remzey, this Examinant, the said Goodenough and Roe, Mr. Joseph Tyley, Mr. Edward Norton, and Mr. Richard Nelthorpe, and the said Mr. Nelthorpe approved of an Insurrection, but always expressed a Detestation of the Design to kill the King and Duke, as a base ungenerous thing: But the said Roe declared, he would be one to execute it rather than it should fail to be done.

And this Examinant saith, That at some or all of those Meetings it was discoursed in what place, and in what manner the said Design against the King and Duke should be put in Execution; and it was proposed to be done either in the Playhouse, by Planting Men in the Pit about the King's Box, armed with Pistols and Pocket Blunderbusses, who between the Acts of the Play should make the Assault, or in their return from the Playhouse by night under Bedford Garden Wall; because of the convenience for one part of the Assailants walking unsuspected in the Piazza, and another walking so in the Square within the Rails, and another being about the Church Porch, who upon the first Assault might prevent Assistance to the King out of Covent-Garden: Or else it might be done as the King and Duke were passing down the River in a Barge, either by overrunning their Barge with a Hoy, or else Boarding their Barge, and shooting a Plank or two out of the bottom with Blunderbusses, and so to sink it; but

both these ways were looked upon as very hazardous and probable to miscarry, and therefore neither was agreed on.

And this Examinant further saith, That in the last *Christmā's* Holy-days, Col. *Romzey* invited this Examinant, and several others to Dinner at his Houle in *Kings-Square* in *Soho-Fields*, where Dined this Examinant, Mr. *Richard Goodenough*, Mr. *Francis Goodenough*, Mr. *Roe*, Mr. *Blaney*, and to the best of this Examinants remembrance, Mr. *Joseph Tilly*, and some discourse was then had of the said Design against the King and Duke, and of a general Insurrection, which this Examinant proposed to them being Lawyeis to call and distingueish them in this manner ; The design of killing the King and the Duke, *Executing a Bargain and Sale*, which was a short manner of Conveyance; And the general Insurrection, *By the Executing a Lease and Releasē*, which is a longer Conveyance, which Distinction was received, and often afterwards made use of; but the same *Blaney* was never afterward, as this Examinant remembers, at any other Meeting.

And this Examinant further saith, That some short time after *Christmā's* last, this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, Mr. *Walcot*, and Mr. *Rumbald* met at the *Salutation Tavern* in *Lumberdstreet*, where it was Discoursed, that some preparations ought to be made against the time, that either the said Design against the King and Duke, or a general Insurrection should be put in Execution : And it was agreed, that *Ferguson* should be sent for Home, and that *Ludlow* should be sent for if it could be, and that Blank Comissions should be drawn up for Officers both Civil and Military and a Model of Government ; but there was some doubt in whose names those Comissions should run, and at laft it was proposed (but this Examinant does not remember by whom) that they should run in the name of the Confederate Lords and Commons of *England*. After which Meeting, this Examinant and Col. *Romzey* went the same night, to the best of this Examinants remembrance or soon after to a Coffee-House in *Popes-head Alley*, to enquire for one Mr. *Thomas Shepard* a Merchant, for directions how to send to Mr. *Ferguson* then in *Holland*, and there found Mr. *Shepard*. And this Examinant, by the consent of the said Col. *Romzey*, wrote a fort of Canting Letter
to

to *Ferguson*, to invite him over for his Health, but there was no particular Busines in the said Letter; and the said Mr. *Shepard* sent it: But Mr. *Ludlow* was never sent for, nor any Commissions prepared, nor any frame of Government drawn up to this Examinants knowledge, or as he ever heard of.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Christmas* last he was informed, to the best of this Examinants remembrance, by Col. *Romsey*, that a design for a general Insurrection was carrying on, and was managed by a Cabal or Council, and that the said Cabal differed amongst themselves, and the Busines was like to be at a stand; but the Persons of that Cabal, the said Col. *Romsey* did not then give this Examinant any account of: But the said Col. *Romsey*, this Examinant and *Nathaniel Wade* agreed to draw up some few Fundamentals, which they thought reasonable, and the said Col. *Romsey* to present the same to the Lord *Rutse*, for him to present to the Managers or the Duke of *Monmouth*, which they did accordingly, but the same were rejected, as the said Col. *Romsey* told this Examinant, and this Examinant hath no Copy of them.

And this Examinant further saith, That about *Hillery Term* last, this Examinant was informed by Mr. *Joseph Tyley*, and since by *James Holloway* of *Bristol*, that there was a considerable Party in *Bristol*, well provided for, and almost impatient for Action, and had laid a rational Design, if they could be seconded in other Places.

And this Examinant further saith, That he was informed by Mr. *Richard Neithorp*, that Col. *Sidney* had sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*, with Letters to Sir *George Cambel*, and Sir *John Cockran*, or one of them, upon pretence of a Purchase of Land in *Carolina*, but in truth, to get them up to *London*, in order to settle Matters for a Rising, or used words to that effect; and that the said Col. *Sidney* gave the said *Aaron Smith* Fourscore Guinnes, or some such Sum for his Charges: And Mr. *Ferguson* hath since told this Examinant, that the said *Aaron Smith* behaved himself very indiscreetly in the said Journey, and ran a hazard of discovering the Design.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* of *ea* told his Examinant, That it was agreed between several *Scots* and several Persons of Quality here in *England*,

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that the *Scots* should have 10000*l.* from hence to buy Arms, and then should Rise in *Scotland*, and be seconded here by an Insurrection in *England*; or if the *English* would help the *Scots* to 30000*l.* they would attempt a Rising in *Scotland*, without being seconded in, or further assisted from *England*. And that the 10000*l.* was to be paid this day and that day, but at length the 10000*l.* sunk to 5000*l.* but the *Scots* were resolved to Rise though they had nothing but their Claws to fight with, rather than endure what they did. And about three Weeks or a Month since, the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that Col. *Sidney* and Major *Wildman* had used the *Scots* ill and broken with them after making them attend two Months; and the reason they broke upon was, That the *Scots* would not agree to declare for a Common-wealth and the extirpation of the Monarchy, but that the said *Ferguson* had hopes of raising the Money otherwise, but would not tell this Examinant how; neither could this Examinant ever be certainly informed, whether any part of the said Money has been paid to the *Scots*. And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *John Roe* hath told this Examinant, that he the said *Roe* was acquainted with some Scotchmen here in *London*, who informed him that there were 2000 or 3000 *Scots* (many of them *Bothwel-Bridge* Men) who were Journey-men and Pedlers in and about *England*, and were under the order and management of Ten or Twelve Scotchmen in *London*, who could in a Month or Six weeks time draw in all up to *London*; and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had a great command of these Men.

And this Examinant further saith, That about three Months since or thereabouts, this Examinant being upon the *Exchange*, met with Major *Wildman*, who told this Examinant for News that the Marques of *Huntly* and Earl of *Douglas*, two eminent Papists, were reported to be made General of the Forces, and Governour of *Sterling* Castle in *Scotland*, and that a Resumption or Repurchase of the Abby-Lands was going to be made there. Whereupon this Examinant told the said Major *Wildman*, That he this Examinant had a Plantation in *America* where the Churchmen never had Footing, and would go thither if he was driven from hence. To which the said Major

Wildman

Wildman replied, *Keep here, and don't talk of being driven out, drive them out hence.* And this Examinant saying, He did not see how that could be done : The said Major *Wildman* returned, *It may be done, and must be done, and shall be done*; or used words to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Rumbald* told this Examinant not long since, that Major *Wildman* had shewed him a Paper in the nature of a Declaration or Remonstrance, which he intended to have Printed and Dispersed among the People at the time of the intended Insurrection ; and that he the said *Wildman* had formerly encouraged the said *Rumbald* in the attempt upon the King and Duke in their way to or from *Newmarket*, but afterward seemed to discourage him.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Fire happened at *Newmarket*, and this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, *Walcot*, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, and *Richard Goodenough* had met twice, and resolved to let making any Attempt upon the King and Duke alone. The said *Ferguson* on Saturday or Sunday before the King's return, borrowed forty Guinnies of Col. *Romzey*, as the said Col. *Romzey* and *Ferguson* have since told this Examinant, in order to set the same on work, but did nothing in it; and hath since repaid 30 Guinnies, if not the whole 40 Guinnies to the said Col. *Romzey*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Kings return from *Newmarket*, the said Col. *Romzey*, this Examinant, *Ferguson*, *Rumbald*, *Goodenough*, and *Walcot*, as this Examinant believes, met at the *George and Vulture-Tavern* on *Ludgat-Hill*, where the Arms in this Examinants former Examinations mentioned and the Sorts and Sizes thereof were agreed upon : And the said *Ferguson* told the Company that one was employed to see for some Convenience between *Hampton-Court* and *Windſor*, to make the Attempt upon the King and Duke, but he never made any Report of the Message, though he was pressed to it by this Examinant and others, being then wholly intent, as this Examinant perceived, upon Managing the Scotch Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That soon afterward there were several Meetings between all or most of the Parties abovementioned, at the *Castle-Tavern in Fleetstreet*, and

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Green-Dragon-Tavern on Snow-Hill; but this Examinant doth not remember any particular Discourse at any of the said Meetings, other than concerning the Progres of the Scotch preparation towards an Insurrection.

And this Examinant further saith, That there was since proposed making an Attempt upon the King and Duke in their return from the Dukes Play-House in the narrow part of the Street, but the same was wholly rejected, and this Examinant never heard of any Attempt designed to be made upon the King and Duke at a Bull-Feast, nor never heard that a Bull-Feast was to be had till about Ten or Eleven days since.

And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that the Insurrection in *England* intended to second that in *Scotland* would be in this manner, *viz.* That one Party should be up in the West, at *Bristol*, *Taunton* and thereabout, another in *Yorkshire* at *York*, another in *Cheshire* at *Chester*, and if it could be done, another in *Devonshire* at *Exeter*, in every of which places some Persons of Quality would appear, but named them not, and that the main Push was designed at *London*, and was ordered thus, *viz.* That several Parties should at once Attack the *Tower*, the Guards and the *Exchange*, the *Mews*, the *Savoy* and *Whitehal*, and one at *Westminster* should fall upon the Back of *Whitehal*, that a Party of Horse should be laid at *Staines-Bridge* to way-lay the King and Duke, if they went towards *Windsor*, and another Party of Horse to way-lay them in their Road to *Portsmouth* if they went thither: that the Mayor and Sheriffs should be seized, but the Design was not to be Communicated till it was ripe for Action, and added, That he hoped the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Russel* might be prevailed with to appear in *London*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Scots were disappointed of the Mony promised to them, the said *Ferguson* would have had this Examinant to have met and discoursed with Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, but this Examinant refused to do so; and he once asked this Examinant to wait upon the Duke of *Monmouth* but this Examinant refused that also.

And this Examinant further saith, That though the said *Ferguson* was shie of naming Persons of Quality to this Examinant

Examinant, yet he always believed he meant the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, Lord Grey, Col. Sydney, Mr. Charleton, Major Wildman and others, but this Examinant never discoursed with any of them himself. And Col. Romsey about two or three Months since to the best of this Examinate's remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord Howard of Escrick, Col. Sydney, Mr. Hampden Junior, Major Wildman and others whom this Examinant hath forgotten, were Managers of the Design.

And this Examinant further saith, That Richard Rumbald was commonly called Hanibal by reason of his having but one Eye, and that it was usual at the Meetings above-mentioned to Drink a Health to Hanibal and his Boys, and this Examinant believes the Ninety three Guinnes in this Examinate's former Examination mentioned to be paid to him by the said Ferguson for the Arms, were given to him by Mr. Charleton, for that the said Ferguson had before told this Examinant, that he should have the said Money when Mr. Charleton came to Town, and when the said Ferguson paid the said Guinnes to this Examinant, he told him he had not had them in his Custody above half an Hour, and this Examinant met the said Charleton going from him when this Examinant came to him.

And this Examinant further saith, That about five Weeks since after the said Treaty with the Scots seemed to be broken off, this Examinant, Col. Romsey, Mr. Wallcot, Mr. Wade, Mr. Norton, Richard Goodenough and James Holloway, met at the Young-Devil-Tavern between the two Temple-Gates, where it was agreed to divide the City into several Parts and to give the several Parts to several Persons to examine what Force might be Raised in every one of them, and if 3000 Men could be Raised for the first Onset it was thought sufficient encouragement to venture upon an Insurrection, and it was not doubted but 20000 Men would fall in if the first Onset had any success; and in order to this a large Map of the City and Suburbs was bought and hung up in this Examinate's Chamber, where Mr. Wade, Holloway and Francis Goodenough divided the City and Suburbs into Twenty Divisions, which were to be Managed thus: One principal Man in each Division should employ Fourteen or Fifteen under him and give them their particular Walks, so that they might not interfere one with another

another and be deceived in their Numbers. These were to provide Ten Men a-piece at least, so that 150 Men in each Division would make 3000 out of the Twenty Divisions, and what was over might be kept for a Reserve, but there was no particular Method as this Examinant remembers agreed upon to use these Men, but was deferred till the Number was certain; after which Divisions so made the said *Richard Goodenough* by reason of his general Acquaintance undertook to find out Men to act accordingly, and some short time after the said Parties abovementioned met at the *Green-Dragon-Tavern*, where the said *Goodenough* declared he had employed several Persons from whom he hoped to have a good account in a little time; and the next Week after the said Parties abovementioned and one Mr. *Zachary Bourn* a Brewer whom the said *Goodenough* had employed in it, met at the *Salutation-Tavern* in *Lumbardstreet*, but this Examinant came not thither till the Company just broke up, and did not hear what passed there; And about a Week after the same Parties except *Holloway* (who was gone to *Bristol*) met again at the *Green-Dragon Tavern* on *Snow-Hill*, where the said *Goodenough* reported that he had an account of 1300 Men out of two of the Hamlets, and that *Southwark* would yield more, and *Spittle-Fields* a great Number, but had no particular account of other places.

And this Examinant further saith, That above three Weeks since *Richard Rumbald* told this Examinant that he suspected Mr. *Keeling* had discovered all the Designs, as well that of the intended Assassination from *Newmarket* as the other Design then on foot, and that if he were sure of it he would take care to get him knock'd on the Head but was unwilling to do so till he were fully satisfied, and about a Fortnight since the said *Rumbald* told this Examinant that he had several Reasons to Convince him that the said *Keeling* had made a Discovery, and but that he made so many Protestations and Imprecations to the contrary he would kill him. And this Examinant hath heard from Mr. *William Rumbald*, that he lent the said *Keeling* an Hundred Pounds on *Saturday* was Sevennight last left the said *Keeling* should be tempted by want of Mony, which he then pretended to labour under. And on *Monday* was Sevennight last this Examinant was informed by the said Mr. *William Rumbald* that the said *Keeling* was with Persons that Afternoon some

some of whom he believed would have killed the said *Keeling* if he had not deceived them by many Imprecations that he had made no Discovery. And this Examinant further saith, That this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Nelthorpe*, *Goodenough* and *Norton* had notice on *Sunday* was *Sevennight* last, by means of the said *Keeling*'s Brother that the said *Keeling* had made a Discovery, and thereupon they resolved to meet early the next Morning in order to their Escapes, and according to their appointment met in *Goodmans-Fields*, where they endeavoured to Hire a Boat for *Holland*, whether all except this Examinant were resolved to go, but by reason they could not get clear of *Gravesend* before five or six a Clock on *Tuesday* Night, and so might be taken, they laid aside that Design and every one shifted for himself.

And this Examinant further saith, That when this Examinant was much dejected, and refused to go for *Holland*, most of the Company and particularly Col. *Romzey* looked wistfully in this Examinant's Face, as if they suspected Treachery in this Examinant. Whereupon this Examinant told the said Col. *Romzey*, this Examinant if he were taken, would not save his Life unjustly, and instanced that he had never spoke with the Duke of *Monmouth* and could say nothing against him, and would not do Injustice to the Colonel but rather give his Right-hand to serve him; which Complement the Colonel returned and so parted, and there was no agreement between all or any the Parties above-named to favour one another: And further this Examinant saith not.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple Barrister at Law
before the Lord Keeper the 27th of June
1683.*

THIS EXAMINANT further saith, That Mr. *Richard Rumbald* and a party of his Friends about ten Years since designed and were prepared to have kill'd the King and Duke of York in their Journey to or from Newmarket and lay in Ambush for that end, but the King and Duke went an unusual Road through the Forest that time, which they never went before or since, and so escaped them; and the said *Rumbald* also told this Examinant that he once had a mind to have taken one of the Cellars under the Duke's *Play-Houſe*, and by placing Barrels of Powder there have Blown up the *Play-Houſe* when the King and Duke were there; but the consideration that a great number of other Innocent People must have perished in it diverted him from it, though a Friend to whom he communicated the Design endeavoured to overrule that objection by saying, *What have the Jack-Daws to do amongſt the Rooks?*

And this Examinant further saith, That at some Meeting before or about *Christmas* last there was a Discourse concerning Surprizing some Garrisons in case of an Insurrection, and it was proposed for *Portsmouth*, that some Gentlemen should go into the Town and Treat the Officers of the Garrison who in that bad Air were apt to accept of an Invitation and Drink plentifully, and that in the height of their Drinking a party of Men who might be brought into Town on a Market-day in Country-mens Habits should Surprize the Guards, who likewise to that end should be Treated, and it was thought the Townsmen who were uneasy under the Insolencies of the Garrison would be apt to close in and assist in the Enterprize. *Pendennis Castle* was also mentioned as a place naked and easily seized and that might be of great use: And this Examinant doth not remember any thing said about *Hull*, but Mr *Ferguson*

Ferguson lately told this Examinant, that he had good assurance of having *Newcastle*.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the intended Insurrection in November last was laid aside, *Ferguson* to the best of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent Mr. *Walcot* to Sir *William Courtney* in *Devonshire*, to engage him in an Insurrection and to joyn with some Person of Quality if it should be thought fit to send one thither, but Mr. *Walcot* returned without any encouragement from Sir *William Courtney*: And though this Examinant knew that the said Mr. *Walcot* took a Journey into *Devonshire*, yet the said Mr. *Walcot* kept the busines of it close from this Examinant and would own only making a visit to a Friend.

And this Examinant further saith, That the Places usually resolved on for places of Rendezvous in case of an Insurrection in *Lond.n*, were Saint *James-Square*, *Covent-Garden*, *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, *Smit hfield*, the *Royal Exchange*, *Saint Georges Fields*, in *Southwark*, *Goodmans-Fields*, *Spittle-Fields*, and *Moor-Fields*, where the Arms in the Artillery Ground were to be Seized.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Roe* told this Examinant that he had discoursed with one Mr. *Hicks* a Tobacconist an Anabaptist Preacher a great Ring-leader of the Anabaptists, and that the said *Hicks* had told him that the Anabaptists could, and he believed upon a good consideration would make up an Army of 20000 Men and 1500 of the 20000 would be Horse, and though perhaps there would be a necessity of making use of some great Men at the beginning (and this Examinant thinks he mentioned the Duke of *Monmouth*) yet when the Anabaptists were once up, they would not lay down their Arms till they had their own Terms.

And this Examinant further saith, That to the best of his remembrance he was informed by Colonel *Romney*, that the Managers of the general Insurrection had one or more Meetings at the House of Mr. *Thomas Shepard Merchant* in *Abchurch-Lane* or *St. Clements-Lane* in *Lumbardstreet London*, and that if the Money were paid to the Scots the said Mr. *Shepard* was to return it into *Holland*, and this Examinant to the best of his remembrance, once

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or twice asked Mr. *Shepard* whether any Money were paid, who answered, It was promised several times but he had not any assurance of its being paid. And this Examinant believes the said Mr. *Shepard* did not know of the intended Assassination of the King and Duke but doth not remember that this Examinant had any particular Discourse with the said Mr. *Shepard* about it, the said *Shepard* having failed to meet this Examinant, Col. *Romzey*, and others several times when he had promised to do so.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Ferguson* to the best of this Examinants remembrance told this Examinant since the King went to *Windſor* that there had been some thoughts of Surprizing *Windſor* with 500 Horse, but upon consideration it seemed impracticable, but he named no Persons to this Examinant.

And the said *Ferguson* desired this Examinant to speak to Mr. *Richard Goodenough* to meet Sir *Thomas Armstrong* which this Examinant did, and this Examinant believes the said *Goodenough* and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* have had several Meetings, and the said *Goodenough* hath Communicated to Sir *Thomas Armstrong* the design last carrying on for Raising 3000 Men out of the Twenty Divisions of the City and Suburbs, and the Progress that was made in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the last mentioned Design Mr. *Richard Goodenough* Reported one Man (but would not name him) would undertake to bring 1000 Men out of the Hamlets and if occasion were to give satisfaction he would shew them all a Football Match or other Pastime, but the said *Goodenough* reported withal that he found most Persons infest upon terms and required to know what ease and advantage they should have in matters of Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and what assurance they should have of their being performed before they would actually engage in Arms, for they would not Fight to change Persons only, but Things; But whether any thing was done in order to give them such satisfaction this Examinant knows not.

And this Examinant further saith, That the Fundamentals in this Examinants last Examination mentioned to be prepared by Mr. *Wade*, Colonel *Romzey* and this Examinant were only rough drawn up by the said Mr. *Wade's*

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own Hand and this Examinant did not write them, nor had any Copy of them, because if they had been approved of, it was intended to have drawn them into form, and therefore this Examinant cannot set them forth Exactly, but to the best of this Examinants remembrance the substance of them was to the effect following.

1. *That the People should annually meet at a certain time to Choose Members of Parliament without any Writ or particular Direction to do so.*

2. *That the Parliament should Meet at and Sit for a stated time and not be Dissolved Prorogued or Adjourned but by their own Consent, and that no Prorogation or Adjournment should bind their Meeting before the day to which they were Prorogued or Adjourned, if there were occasion.*

3. *That the Parliament should consist of a House of Lords and a House of Commons, but the exact number of both or either of them, this Examinant doth not remember.*

4. *That only such Nobility should be Hereditary as were assisting in this Design, the rest should be only for Life, and upon their Death the House of Lords be supplied from time to time with new ones out of the House of Commons, but whether by the Election of the Lords or of the Prince this Examinant doth not remember.*

5. *The Militia should be in the Parliament and the Parliament have the Nomination if not the Election of all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and other greater or lesser Officers Civil or Military.*

6. That what Acts passed in both Houses should be a Law for one Year without the Prince's Consent, and what Acts passed both Houses in two several Parliaments should be a Perpetual Law without his Consent.

7. That a Council to the Prince should be Elected out of the Parliament, a certain Number of the Lords to be Elected by the Commons and a certain Number of the Commons to be Elected by the Lords, but the Number of the Council, or of either Lords or Commons to be of it this Examinant doth not remember.

And this Examinant further saith, That before the said Ferguson went for Holland this Examinant pressing him to know whether the Duke of Monmouth were acquainted with the Design against the King and Duke, and would not Hang all Persons concerned in it if it succeeded, the said Ferguson said, *What if I get it under his Hand that he shall not?* To which this Examinant answered, It would be sufficient satisfaction, but when the said Ferguson returned from Holland, and this Examinant pressed him again to have Secuity fit to be relied on, he asked this Examinant *Whether that were fit to be proposed to the Duke?* And this Examinant saying, If he durst not propose it he thought other Men ought not to venture upon it : Whereupon the said Ferguson said, That he had mentioned something concerning the King to the Duke of Monmouth, but not Assassinating him, to which the Duke answered somewhat sternly, You must look upon me in the Capacity of a Son; Which answer for some time dampt the Design and always clog'd it: But at length it was resolved, that if the Duke did prosecute the Actors in it, that the Duke himself should be killed if it could be done; And this Examinant believes Col. Romsey was present at or made acquainted by this Examinant with the said Discourse.

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And this Examinant further saith, That the said *Ferguson* to the best of his remembrance, told this Examinant that some thoughts had been formerly of making an Attempt upon the King and Duke the last Lord Mayors Day either going out of the Coach into *Guild-Hall*, or in the Hall at Dinner (which might be done with Men with Swords only) or in their return from thence at *Ludgate* or *Pauls-Church-Yard*, but for the great hazards in either of these ways nothing was resolved on.

And this Examinant further saith, That this Examinant perceiving that little or no preparations were made for the last Designed Attempt in the *Newmarket Journey*, told the said *Ferguson* of it, to which the said *Ferguson* answered, That he should have a Sum of Money for it when things were fixt, but not else, for a Sum had been Deposited in a Mans hand (but named not whose) for the former designed Attempt in the *October Journey*, and though it was not made use of it was not returned and there was no asking for such Money again. And this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings concerning the Attempt upon the King and Duke, this Examinant proposed to the said *Ferguson*, that some of the Duke of *Monmouths* Servants or Dependants should be brought into the Action, which might be some security to the Persons engaged, or at least make the World think the Duke concerned in it, if he were not. But Mr. *Rumbald* did not care to engage with any of them, however this Examinant believes the said Proposal had been Communicated to some of them, for that this Examinant was told (to the best of his remembrance) either by Colonel *Romzey* or Mr. *Ferguson*, that Sir *Thomas Armstrong* offered to engage if Colonel *Romzey* would; but the Colonel refused, and that in case of a general Insurrection Sir *Thomas Armstrong* would the night before it attempt to kill the Duke of *York*, by going to him with a pretence to discover some Plot against him.

And this Examinant was informed by Mr. *John Roe* that one Mr. *Gibbons* who was or had been a Servant to the Duke of *Monmouth* met the said *Roe* in *Covent-Garden* or carried him thither, and there told the said *Roe* that was a Convenient place to do the Trick in (by which this Examinant understood the Attempt upon the King

and Duke) and that he the said *Gibbons* would engage to be one in it.

And this Examinant further saith, That about a fortnight before the Kings return from *Newmarket*, when the attempt was resolved on to be made, Mr. *Ferguson* told this Examinant, That the Duke of *Monmouth* and several Lords should be invited into the City to a Dinner, the same day that the King was to return, so as they might be ready to appear in the City upon the Arrival of the News, and the said *Ferguson* told this Examinant, that some preferment was designed for this Examinant, and desired this Examinant to consider and give him a Note of such Lawyers as this Examinant thought fit to be and would accept of being Judges, but this Examinant only smiled at his vanity and never gave the said *Ferguson* any such account.

Robert West.

*27 Junii 1683. Capt.
& Recognit. Coram me*

F. North, C. S.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at
Law.*

AND this Examinant further saith, That at one of the Meetings held for managing the busines of the Assassination of the King and Duke in their *Newmarket* Journey, there was some Discourse about getting the Arms down to Mr. *Rumbalds* House, and the said *Rumbald* first proposed to put them up in long Chests, and send them down by some Empty Carts from *Smith-Field*, and afterwards he thought to make use of two trusty Water-men of his acquaintance, who should lay them in the Boat, and carry Oysters over them (as sometimes they used to carry Oysters) up *Ware-River*, and land them at, or near his own House; or else every Man was to carry his own Arms, under long Coats: But no particular way was resolved on, but such was to be used, as should appear most safe: And at the same or some other Meeting for the same purpose, it was discoursed how the Men should get down unobserved, and it was thought best that they should go from *London* in the Evening, in small numbers, so as to arrive at the place about Midnight and go into an empty House near *Rumbald's* own House, where their Horses should be put into a Barn and be refreshed, and *Rumbald* was to send away his Servants early to Market, and his Wife and Daughter he resolved to Lock up above Stairs: But the greatest difficulty was how these Men should get off after the Busines was done; the Road might be full and the party Cut off by some force that might come from *London*, and therefore *Rumbald* proposed, that if he surviv'd the Action or were not disabled in it, to bring them a back way over the Meadows, and over *Hackney-Marsh* (to the best of this Examinants remembrance) which he said was a very good way, and all of it to be Galloped, and by that means they might get to *London* as soon as the news could. Or else the said *Rumbald*

bald offered that the party should retire into his own Yard, which was Walled in with a high Wall, and Moated round which he would undertake to defend against any Force that could assault them, and before night he thought all would be dispersed and shifting for themselves, and the Road be clear to London, but which Course he would take was left to his Discretion, as the Circumstances of the Case should require.

And this Examinant further saith, That the several ways proposed to surprize and take the Tower of London were these to the best of this Examinate's remembrance, One was to send ten or twelve Men Armed with Pistols, Pocket Daggers and Pocket Blunderbusses into the Tower under pretence of seeing the Armory, another number should go to see the Lyons, who by reason of their not going into the Inner-Gate were not to have their Swords taken from them, that the persons who went to see the Armory should return into the Tavern or Sutlers House just within the Gate, and there Eat and Drink till the time for the Attempt was come, that some persons should come in a Mourning Coach or some Gentleman's Coach to be borrowed for this occasion under pretence of making a visit to some of the Lords in the Tower, and just within the Gate some of the persons issuing out of the Tavern should kill one of the Horses, and overturn the Coach so as the Gate could not be shut, and the rest of the persons within, and those who went to see the Lyons should set upon the Guards, that upon a Signal of the Coach driving down, a party of Men (two or three Hundred or more if they could be got, and were to be lodged in empty Houses to be hired for that purpose as near the Tower as could be had) should be ready to rush out, and upon the noise of the first shot immediately run down to the Gate and break in, this way if at all put in Execution was to be in the day time about two a Clock, because after Dinner the Officers are usually dispersed or engaged in drinking, and the Soldiers loitering from their Arms.

Another way proposed was that several Men should enter Actions against one another in St. Katherine's Court held for the Tower Liberty within the Tower, and that at the

the Court day at which time great Liberty is allowed to all persons to come in , a party of Men shoud go as Plaintiffs and Defendants and Witnesses, who joyned with some others who shoud come in under pretence of Curiosity as abovementioned, shoud attempt the surprize , and be seconded by the party from the hired Houses ; and to the best of this Examinants remembrance a Coach was likewise to be made use of in this Case , and at one of the late Meetings for carrying on the last Insurrection , Mr. *Goodenough* reported, That an Engineer told the said *Goodenough* that he would recommend some honest stout Fellows to be Labourers and Workmen in the *Tower* , who shoud be acquainted with the Design and ready to afflit in it.

Another way proposed was to surprize it by night, but that was full of difficulty , and all that this Examinant remembers to have been proposed was , that a parcel of Faggots shoud be carried down to the Gate and fired , and to some other Part (this Examinant thinks the water Gate) if it were practicable, and a great quantity of Faggots shoud be prepared to throw into the Ditch and to make up Works. That which most perplexed the Business was, that to surprize the *Tower* by night was very difficult, and to begin an Insurrection in the day time was as difficult and would lose many advantages that the night or break of day would afford and therefore no resolution was taken ; These were only the Debates of the Meetings of this Examinant and the other Persons in his former Examination named , but this Examinant never heard what the Principal Managers considered of or resolved on in the Case.

And this Examinant further saith , That Mr. *Ferguson* used to go by the name of *Roberts* and told this Examinant he was to go for *Holland* with or soon after the Bills for the Money to be paid to the Scots, and that the intention was to Land the Arms at *Edinburgh* Frith to the best of this Examinants remembrance.

And this Examinant further saith, Mr. *William Rembald* told this Examinant that after it was violently

suspected that Mr. *Keeling* had made a Discovery, but had denied it, it was proposed to Mr. *Keeling* for the satisfaction of his Friends that he should go into the Country for some time (where it was easie to Kill him and Bury him privately.)

And this Examinant further saith, That after it was certainly known that a Discovery was made, it was said by Mr. *Wade* to the best of this Examinate's remembrance, that if a Thousand Men could be got together, it were better to venture a push here or in the West and die like Men than be hanged like Dogs: To which it was answered by Colonel *Romzey* as this Examinant believes, *It is in vain to think of it, the Hearts of the People are down and our Great Men are good for nothing*, or used expressions to that effect.

And this Examinant further saith, That on *Monday* was Sennight last Mr. *Ferguson* perceiving this Examinant much dejected and Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, *Goodenough* and *Nelthorpe* in some Confusion, laught and said to them, *Gentlemen, you are Strangers to this kind of Exercise, I have been used to flie, I will never leave off as long as I live, and I hope to see some of you at Dunbarr before Michaelmas or to that effect.*

Robert West.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle Temple, Barrister at
Law.*

THIS EXAMINANT further saith, That at some Meetings concerning a General Insurrection it was discoursed that a Body of Five hundred Horse would be necessary to scour the Streets to prevent the Kings Party from embodiing and for Fighting the Horse-Guards, or for a Pursuit, and to that end it was proposed that some endeavours should be used to bring up a Party of Horse from the Adjacent Counties and that some means should be thought on to seize the Life-Guard Mens Horses in their Quarters, and the Citizens and Gentlemens Horses in the Livery Stables, and if there were success and a great Body of Horse should be necessary, the great number of Hackney Coach-Horses in Town would make a good force. It was further proposed that Baricadoes should be made in several great Streets and several Churches be used for lodging the Men.

And this Examinant further saith, That at some of the said Meetings it was reported that the Kings Regiments of Foot had not their full Complement of Men but wanted a great number, and that the Officers used to lend one another Men when they went upon the Guard, and therefore the Foot were not so terrible as might be apprehended.

And this Examinant further saith, That it was intended in the beginning of the general Insurrection in the West to send out a Party of Horse to seize the Marques of Worcester now Duke of Beaufort, and his eldest Son, and another Party to seize the Bishop of Bath and Wells and some other eminent Men of that Party if they were then in those parts.

And this Examinant further saith, That some time before Christmas last he was informed by Mr. Roe to the best of this Examinants remembrance that the Country expected the City would have been in Arms on Michaelmas's Eve when the present Sheriffs of London and Middlesex were

were Sworn, and that he was credibly informed that there were Five hundred Horse in the Adjacent Counties ready to be marched to their Assistance upon the first notice, and that they continued in a readiness for two days expecting notice, but the Examinant doth not remember that he named any person from whom he had this Information.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. Ferguson told this Examinant that some Nonconforming Ministers had told him they suspected he was driving on a Design to Assassinate the King and Duke and begg'd of him to desist, for that it would bring a reproach upon the Protestant Religion whatsoever the event might be, and that he was forced to assure them there was no such thing intended, but alas, said he, they are weak silly Men and not fit for these things who cannot distinguish between destroying a Prince merely for his Opinion in Religion, and Destroying Tyrants who Design to overthrow the Laws, Religion, and all Civil Rights and hate the Nation. It is a pious glorious Action, and such as will teach all Princes to use their Subjects kindly, or to that effect.

Robert West.

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.*

This Examinant upon further Recollection saith, That after Capt. Walcot had acquainted this Examinant of the Insurrection intended to have been made in November last, the said Walcot came a second time to this Examinant and told this Examinant that the Lord Shaftesbury had prevailed with him to engage in it, and that if it proceeded he would engage in it, and desired this Examinant to buy for him the said Walcot a long stiff

stiff Tuck of some Cutler this Examinant knew, which this Examinant undertook and bespoke, but was so long before he could procure it that the said *Walcor* had otherwise provided himself and the Design was laid aside first, and this Examinant was forced to keep the said Tuck the Cutler refusing to take it again.

And the said Mr. *Walcor* told this Examinant to the best of his remembrance, that the Lord *Shaftsbury* had formerly sent for Sir *George Cabel* and Sir *John Cockyan* about settling a Scotch Colony or Plantation in *Carolina*, but he believed that was only a pretence, and that the real truth was to Concert Matters in order to some design in *Scotland*, for the Lord *Shaftsbury* had sent for him upon pretence of some Command in *Carolina*, but when he came the Lord *Shaftsbury* was very cool in it. And this Examinant further saith, That the said Mr. *Walcor* refused a long time to act in any wise in the Attempt upon the King and Duke in the *Newmarket Journey*, but at length by the persuasion of *Ferguson* as this Examinant believes he undertook to Command the Party who were to Fight the Guards or to be one of them, but refused to act in the Assaffination it self.

And this Examinant further saith, The said *Ferguson* told this Examinant that when the Earl of *Argyle* was in *England* last Year he had offered to make a sturdy Commotion in *Scotland* if he might have had but 6000 l. (for so low he came down from his first demand of 30000 or 40000 l.) but our Great Men were jealous of him then, and would not trust him, though he offered that they should employ whom they would themselves to lay out the Mony in Arms, which he said was a great Overfight and Opportunity lost. And this Examinant believes the Assaffination of the King and Duke Designed in *October* last was Projected and Abetted by the late Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that the Mony in one of this Examinants former Examinations mentioned to be advanced for that Design was advanced by the said Earl, because this Examinant had heard (but cannot say positively from whom) that the said Earl complained of having been ill used in that Matter, in the Money not being returned though it was not laid out.

Information

*Information of Carleton Whitlock,
5th. of July 83.*

M R. *Weft* sometime in *Easter Term* laſt in the Court of Requests told me That ſome deſperate Fellows had deſigned to have killed the King, or would have killed the King as he came laſt from *Newmarket*, if they had not been afraid that the Duke of *Monmouth* would have Hanged them. Upon which I told him that it had been a Villanous action and that all Mankind would have deteſted the Action and the Murderers, and that if it ever had been in the Duke of *Monmouth's* power he would certainly have Hanged them for it, if they had done it. He told me afterwards that there was a Deſign of raſing a conſiderable Sum of Mony to buy Arms, as I remember in *Holland*, and that Major *Wildman*, Col. *Algernoon Sidney*, and *Ferguson* managed the Buſineſs, and that my Lord *Ruffel* was very active in it, or words to that effect, and that Writings were drawn or drawing or to be drawn for the taking up of the Mony, as I remember he ſaid *Ferguson* was to manage on the behalf of the *Scots*. This he told me at his Houſe one day when I Dined with him, but upon my not Examining him to particulars, he ſaid nothing to me but thus generally; only at his Houſe he ſaid that ſome of them were for a Common-wealtheſt and others for a Monarchy.

At Mr. *Shutes* Funeral in the publick Room *Nelthorpe* came to me and asked me for ſomething for poor *Ferguson*, as he called him, and told me he was doing a good Work for all Honest Men; I told him I would give nothing to any Man for doing Work I did not know of.

C. Whitlock.

Mr.

Mr. Edmund Waller's Confession.

I Did once meet Mr. *West* I do not know the certain time and he rail'd so much at those he called Protestant Lords, that I asked him if he would have them be Rebels, and told him that such Men as he and nothing else could ruine the Kingdom; this was in the Temple before the Hall, the last and only other time that I ever spoke with him in private, that is alone, for we walked in the Temple Cloisters: I met him there, and he told me that some People not naming himself as one, had had a Design to set upon the King (I am not certain whether he named *Newmarket*) but he said it was over, I went from him hastily and only said these things will Hang you and undo a great many other People; as I remember when he said there had been such a Design, I told him I did not believe it, and then he said it was to have been done as the King came from *Newmarket*, and was going on to say more but I interrupted him and went away, and I believe he was jealous of me for he called after me and said there was no danger; this was as I think the Saturday before this Conspiracy was spoke of in *Westminster-Hall*.

July 6th. 1683.

Edm. Waller.

Information

Information of Zachary Bourn.

Richard Goodenough bringing Mr. Ferguson alias Roberts (for that Name he used to go by) to my House, it was a great while ere I understood any thing at all of the Design, but so many coming to him daily as did, made me jealous I did imagine something of it, upon which he took an occasion one day to ask what I thought about the Gentlemen that came so often to him, and then says, Admit there should be a Design on Foot for the good of the People of *England* would you be against it? To which I answered, If I can do it with a safe Conscience I could not tell well what I should be persuaded to. As to that, says he, I shall easily satisfy you, and then went on to prove a mutual Covenant between the King and the People, that His Majesty had broke it on His side, so the People were again at Liberty; but to the Matter, says he, as indeed I will be plain with you, if you love your self you must come in, for there is a Design on foot so laid, and so far gone that it is impossible it should fail. Then I desired him, if he thought it convenient, to let me know some particulars, which he said he would, provided I would promise him Secrecy, but especially I should say nothing to my Father or Wife, for he thought I would not speak to any Body else, upon which I said I would, and then he was plain as he said, and told me as follows.

That there was not a County in *England* but had prepared for the Business less or more, but especially in the North and West, and that they were sure of most places of Strength throughout the Kingdom, but especially *Bristol* and *Newcastle*, and that they were then a considering how to secure *Portsmouth*, but were afraid they should not, the Garrison was so strong.

And that the Scots were to stir at the same time we were, and that we were to lend them 10000*l.* to be remitted into *Holland* to buy Arms for them; and that he was to go over with the Bills of Exchange; that he found out a Person could deposite the Money upon good Security, which the Lords had promised should be given; that there was a

Dutch

Dutch Merchant or two that he had got to provide the Arms, for the *English* could not do it without suspicion.

Then I asked him who the Lords were? He told me there was the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Russel*, and Major *Wildman*, and Col. *Sidney*: I told him I wondered the Duke would be persuaded to take up Arms against his Father, for my part I should be very unwilling to trust him; He answered me that he had the greatest assurance in the World of him, and that I need no more be afraid of the Duke than of him.

He told me the Lord *Argyle* who was to Command the *Scots* was of my opinion too, for he had a few days before sent a Letter to him to be well satisfied in the point, and that he had sent him such an Answer as he did not doubt would satisfy him.

He told me the Duke of *York* had Fourteen thousand Men in half Pay about the Town, and for his part he thought we ought to defend our selves, for we could not tell but our Throats might be cut every night. I asked him how he could tell all this? He told me that they had a great deal of Intelligence from the Tory party, for there were some that were willing to play a sure Game and so keep in with both sides. Some little time after this there came one Mr. *John Roe* that was Sword-bearer of *Bristol* with one *James Holloway* of the same place a Merchant, to enquire for *Ferguson*, but he was unwilling to see them: Then *Roe* asked me to go and give him a Dish of Coffee, which I did, and *James Holloway* gave me an account of the posture of Affairs at *Bristol*, which I wondred at, being the first time that ever I saw him, *viz.*

That they had been ready this two or three Months, that there was but eight in *Bristol* that knew of it, that he had had some Cannon he had taken out of some Ships he was concerned in had lain there so long he was afraid they would mistrust something, that he had great plenty of Powder and Bullet in his own House, and that they had a couple of Ships there that would carry Forty Guns apiece which they intended to seize the first Rising, and fit out to Sea; and then their manner of getting together was thus, Some of those eight had Houses out of Town, where they would get all of the Town they thought were for their purpose;

purpose ; the Dissenters under pretence of a Meeting, and the others under some Colour or other, and then tell them the Design, and if they would not go with them they would secure or force them, and that they would seize all the head Men of the Contrary party which were not above thirty in all, and that they would post Men at the corner of every Street so that there should not a Man stir without they pleased.

And that to their assistance they should have some Colliers out of King Road, and some Scotch Pedlars that were about the Country, many of whom were of *Bothwell-Bridge*.

He said further that the King would have by the time they begun a great many thousand pounds that they would seize, and that there was a great many of the Tory party that had a great sum of Money by them which they must borrow and that there was not a good Horse within five miles about them but they knew where to have him ; that they wanted but two hundred Muskets, for they thought they should have more Men than Arms, which he was come up about, which he hoped the Lords would help them to, but if they could not Mr. *Wade* would lend them the Money to buy them, and that he should pack them up in Parcels of Goods and send them by the Carrier to his House : Mr. *Wade* told me himself he would do it, that is lend the Money, but it was some time after this, Mr. *Roe* set by and approved what *Holloway* said to be true ; after this I went down to the Wells, and staid about a fortnight. When I came home again Mr. *Wade* came to me and told me I must promise Secrecy, and then he had something to say to me; which was that affairs were settled every where very well but in *London*, and tho the Lords had a Design to let *London* alone, yet they saw there was a necessity that the business must be done effectually in *London*, for if they let that alone it was enough to maintain a War against the whole Kingdom and that their friends here would be all ruined, and that in order to the securing of it they had taken this method by which they might know their strength. They had divided the *Town* into so many Divisions and had got honest fellows to consult what Men they might expect out of every Division, and that they had no body about me that they thought could serve them, and therefore

therefore desired me to think if it was not possible to get about a hundred and sixty Men out of Bloomsbury, St. Giles's, St. James's, and Soho, and that I might by way of Discourse, ask some of my acquaintance if there should be occasion to defend our selves whether they could not find out Ten or Fifteen or Twenty Men that would assist; that they should have a Meeting again in two or three days, and then he would give me an account of it, and I should go to them. And accordingly on Friday following being the 8th of June towards Evening he came and fetcht me out, and carried me to the Dragon Tavern on Snow-hill; where I met Col. Romsey, Mr. Robert West, Captain Walcot, Mr. Norton, Mr. Wade, Richard and Francis Goodenough: then I was asked if I could not do what Mr. Goodenough had spoke to me about, and was desired not to say any thing about the busines to any body in direct terms, but especially to any of the Ministers, for West said they were a parcel of Rogues that had ruined the People ever since Constantine. I told them I thought Mr. Mead, and Mr. Lobb might be trusted, and that they were, if they would, capable of serving them very much. But they would not hear it then, but the next meeting which was on Monday the 11th. Ditto at the Salutation in Lombard-street; they did think it was necessary Mr. Lobb should be spoke to, but not directly, which I did, for the next day I went to him, and talking of the badnes of the times, I said there was but one way to help our selves, and that was by Arms, and if we should have occasion to do so, I asked him where he could find a good parcel amongst his people that he thought would stir. He told me that the Spirits of the people were low, but he did believe there was a pretty many of them that would make use of an opportunity if it was put into their Hands, but he could see no hopes of such an opportunity as yet, we were too great Cowards, but I bid him not be out of hopes; and so our Discourse ended, for his Wife came in.

The next Meeting which was on Thursday the 14th. Ditto at the Dragon on Snow-Hill, Richard Goodenough brought in an account of the Divisions he was concerned in, which was all the Town almost, but where I was; and at Westminster where Mr. Grange a Brewer was concerned, but he ne'r met with us, but Goodenough said he promised

two hundred Men, and would be free of his Purse. At this Meeting they resolved on this which had been Consulted before, (for now they began to be sure of the Design, for they had a probability of eight or nine thousand Men from the account *Goodenough* gave in and others) that *Whitehal* should be secured, and the manner thus: That the Men in *Westminster* should be ready to make an Attaque on that side, that they would get about 100 Seamen that should come up in Long-Boats with Hand-Granadoes and should Attaque that part next the Water, and that a Party of about 500 should come down by *Charing-Cross*, part of which should secure the *Mews*, and the rest march down and surprize the Guards in their sleep, for it was to have been about one or two in the Morning, and that all the chief Ministers of State were to be secured, the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs and some of the Aldermen, another party to secure the *Savoy* and *Somerset-House*, and that in *Couvent-Garden* and *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* were to be Bodies of Men to be ready to give assistance if need were, and that all the expedition imaginable was to be made, for now it was put into the hands of a great many, and there was danger of a Discovery. Mr. *Goodenough* told us that day that he had met with an Engineer that would do strange things about taking the *Tower*, and that he had six or seven Mortar-pieces that belonged to the *Tower*, and that he would take care to keep them this Month or six weeks; at that time Mr. *W^t* said he thought I must secure my Neighbour, meaning the Lord Keeper, but I told him I would do no such thing as to fall on a Neighbour; truly he said he should be very willing to come to an account with him, and if he did he should put him in mind of *Colledge*. At this time *Goodenough's* said, the People that he had spoke of the Matters to, desired they might know what they must trust to, for if the Design was only to change Persons they had as good have the Father as the Son, and therefore desired some Heads might be thought on and carried to the Duke to be Signed by him the night before the Design began, and these Five things were resolved on.

1. *That the Militia should be in the hands of the People.*

2. *That*

2. That they should choose their own Sheriffs in every County.

3. That we should have a Parliament once a Year, and that they should Sit as long as they had any thing to do.

4. That they should have Liberty of Conscience.

5. That all the Nobility of England that had acted contrary to the Interest of the People should be Degraded.

Mr. Wade was to put these in Writing, and carry them the next Morning to Col. Romzey who was to go to the Duke with them, which he did, and on Saturday the 1st Eth, *Ditto* at the *George and Vulture* on *Ludgate-Hill* he brought us this Account, that he was to wait on the Duke twice before he could speak with him, but at laſt did; that the Dukes Answer was, *That all of them were things of moment, and that they could not be done without a Parliament but must be left to them, that he would do what lay in his power towards the obtaining them*, but there being word brought to one Lee a Dyer in St. Giles *Cripple-Gate* Parish, that there was High Treason Sworn against him and Richard Goodenough, Goodenough would not come to us that night, so this only was concluded on, That we should meet on Monday at the *Castle Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, and that some time on Monday Mr. Lee and Mr. Wade should go to Mr. West's Chamber to survey the Map of the Town to find fit places to meet in, and give us an Account at our Meeting, but on Sunday they had an account all was Discovered by one Keeling whom they had some ſuspition of ſome days before; upon Monday Morning they met at Captain Tracy's where Captain Wallcot Lodged, Col. Romzey came to my House and gave Mr. Ferguson and me an account of it, and took me with him to Captain Tracy's where they conſulted how to retrieve the

Business: Most were for Pushing for it, and so to die with their Swords in their Hands; and another way was proposed I think by Mr. *W^tst*, to kill *Keeling* and one Doctor *Butler* which I think Col. *Romzey* named, who was said to be the person brought *Keeling* in to Discover, and that this would give them such a Blow would make them afraid: The manner of taking Doctor *Butler* was to be thus, Some Men to go him (it was to be after the killing of *Keeling*) and undertake to give him an exact account of the Murder and the rest of the Plot, and so to meet at a Tavern where was a convenient Room for the purpose and there to have Assassinated him, but I left them in the dispute and went not again til Morning, when I came there they were all gone but *W^tst*, who told me that one *Rumbold* and others had been in company with *Keeling* all the day before, and he had perfwaded them into a belief he had Sworn nothing against any Man and so escaped from them, though this Morning they found to the contrary.

At one time talking to *Ferguson* about this Matter, he said nothing was to be expected from the Rich old Citizens, and therefore half a dozen of them must be taken out of their Houses and hang'd on their Sign-Posts and their Houses given as plunder to the Mobile and that would scare the rest. Another time meeting *Roe* after the Fire at *Newmarket* a great while, he began to talk of the Design at *Newmarket*, which he declined when he found I was ignorant of it, but by him and others I understood afterwards that there was a Consult several times at *W^tst's* Chamber against the Life of His Majesty, and that in order thereto *W^tst* had bought as many Arms as cost about 100' of a Gunsmith in *Sher-lane*, but the Fire happening prevented the Design. Another time talking with *Roe*, he said there was no way like Lopping, that was His Majesty and His Royal Highnes; to which I answered, I never approved of such Ways, and that he might do it himself for me if he would have it done, upon which he replied he would be one with all his Heart, and that it might be done through or over my Lord of *Bedford's* Wall as His Majesty went to the Play-House, or as he went to *Hampton-Court* from *W^tndfor*. At another time I met *W^tst* on the *Exchange*, and he told me the Lords were all

all a parcel of Rogues, and *Ferguson* a credulous Fool, for that they would Trick upon the *Scots* and us too, that he had laid out a parcel of Mony for Arms, and that he could not get it again, which I told *Ferguson* when I saw him but he said he should have it. Sometime after I met him, in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* and he told me that he had a Note to one Major *Wildman* for the Mony and that he'd go for it next Morning, which he did, but the Major was gone out of Town. Sometime after I went to Mr. *Owen's* in *Bloomsbury*, where *Ferguson* then Lodged, and there I asked him about *West's* Mony, he told me he had given it himself, for that it was sent to him just before Mr. *West* came in, and he had given it him. On Monday they met at Captain *Tracy's*, Mr. *West* gave a Note to one *Tuttle* to go to the Gunsmith to fetch the Arms he had bought, lest they shoud be found there, and carry them to one of the Plantations, I think *New York*, which *Tuttle* did then profer, if they would push for it he would not go his Voyage, tho' I think he said his Ship was at *Gravesend*, nor would he come alone, but undertake for a Hundred Seamen and others presently.

The persons that used to come to *Ferguson* were Sir *Thomas Armstrong* very often, sometimes two or three times a day, Colonel *Romzey*, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Wade*, Mr. *Norton*, Richard *Goodenough*, Richard *Nelthorpe*, Mr. *West*, Mr. *Charleton* with a wooden Leg, Mr. *John Freak*, Mr. *Blany* once or twice, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, Merchant, Sir *Robert Rich*, John *Starkey*, (Mr. *Basy* a Scotchman, and Sir *Camel*, and a great many more of his Countrymen) and several from *Wapping*, all whom I know when I see, also Mr. *John Ayloff* used to come when he was in Town.

Ferguson told me of a certain person of Quality in that part of *Ireland* next *Scotland* that could Raise Twenty thousand Men, and that he had promised it, I asked his Name but he would not tell me; he told me it was *Aaron Smith* was sent to *Scotland* about this busines, and that he had like to have spoiled all, but that the person to whom he carried the Letter, went to the Council and shewed them a Letter he had about some busines of *Carolina*, and asked leave to come to *London* about it, and so got off this suspition.

✓. Bourne.

July the 6th, 1683.

F 3

Zec,

Zec. Bourne's further Information.

THAT Mr. *Baily* the Scotchman sate up one night with Mr. *Ferguson*, and he went several times with him to the Duke, and the other Lords, that *Ferguson* lodged at several places a few nights at a time and so to my House again, at one Mr. *Bickerstaff*, a Sword-Cutler in *Covent-Garden*, at a German Doctors at the Green Posts in *St. Martins-lane*, and Mr. *Owens* in *King-street* in *Bloomsbury*.

That we met at the *Salutation* in *Lumbard-street* by the perswasion of Captain *Walcot*, for he said Mr. *Thomas Shepard* would meet us there, he went out of Town every night and so could not come further, that I have often carried Letters to the *Exchange* to Mr. *Shepard* from *Ferguson*, that he used to come often to my House to him, that I believe him to be the Man was to return the Ten thousand pounds, for *Ferguson* told me he had a great Correspondence with several Merchants in *Holland*, and that he did return my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Money when he went over.

That Captain *Walcot* would have spoke to one Mr. *Collins* an *Anabaptist* Preacher (he Preaches somewhere in *Moor-fields*) that could assist us greatly, but they would not hear of it being a Parson.

Mr. *West* told me that Mr. *Ayloff* was at the buying the Arms in *Skear-lane*, and if at the buying I suppose at the contriving the use for them, that two or three days before the Discovery was made by Mr. *Keeling*, thinking the business was pretty ripe, Mr. *Norton* was desired to write to Mr. *Ayloff* to come to Town, which he did.

That *Ferguson* desired me to tell them one night when we met, that he must have a party to seize Mr. *L'Estrange*, for he should find strange Papers, and that great care must be taken to secure the Paper-Office at *Whitchal*.

Zec. Bourne.

That

Hat Ferguson told me that one Mr. Owen of Grays-Inn would give a hundred pound towards the Design, and further he told me that he was the Author of those two Libels, viz. *A Letter about the Black Box, And a Letter concerning His Majesties Declaration*; that as he walked in the Fields at that time the Discourse was about the Black Box, it came into his mind to write about it, which he did in an Ale-House in Chancery-lane, and that afterwards when His Majesties Declaration came out concerning the Duke of Monmouth, he finding no body took notice of it in Print, resolved to write an Answer to that, which he said he did as he lay in his Bed one Morning, and further told me he got one thrown on His Majesties Hat as he walked on the Tarras Walk at Windsor, and another laid under His Pillow, but would not tell me who it was had so disposed of them two for him; and farther told me that the Duke of Monmouth gave him Fifty Guinnies for that piece of Service, and so hath done every year since. Mr. Berbel that was Sheriff of London was once at my House with Ferguson and had some private Discourse with him.

Zec. Bourne.

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple , Barrister at
Law.*

This Examinant upon further Recollection saith, That at the Meetings for carrying on the Assassination of the King and Duke, it was resolved, that Sir John Moor the late Lord Mayor of London should be killed, as well as the present Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, and that if the people did not pull him in pieces, his skin should be flead off and stuft and hung up in *Guild-Hall* as one who betrayed the Rights and Priviledges of the City.

And it was further resolved, That Mr. Papillion, and Mr. Dubois should be declared Sheriffs, and Sir Thomas Gold or Alderman Cornish (but this Examinant thinks Alderman Cornish was pitch'd on as the brisker Man) to be Lord Mayor, and that they should be forced to take those Offices upon them, and if they refused should be knocked on the head. And Sir Robert Clayton and Sir Patience Ward who had behaved themselves like Trimmers in their Mayoralty, and neglected to repeal several By-Laws whereby they might have prevented Sir John Moor from being Lord Mayor should be forced to appear publickly and own the fact, or else be knockt on the Head.

And it was further proposed, That most of the Judges should be killed or brought to Tryal for their Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins stuft and hung up in *Westminster-Hall*.

It was further said by Colonel Romzey to the best of this Examinants remembrance, That though he was not for shedding much blood there would be a necessity of taking off some of the chief Abhorers and Addressers in most Counties, otherwise they would be making head, but this Examinant was of opinion that a publick Declaration of safety to their Persons and Estates if they would submit, was a better expedient and would win more upon the People. And it was further resolved that some of the principal reputed Pentioners in the late long Parliament should be brought to Tryal and Death, and that there Skins should be

be stuft and hung up in the Parliament House as Betrayers of the People, and of the Trust. It was proposed that Bishops Deans and Chapters should be wholly laid aside, but no resolution was taken concerning their Lands because the present Tenants might be induced to submit in hopes of preserving them, and would be sure to struggle if they saw they must lose them, and those who had those Lands in the late times would be sure to engage in Arms for us or submit in hopes of having thofe Lands again. Some Discourse was had of applying those Revenues, and of one half or two thirds of the Colleges in both Universities to publick uſes in eafe of the People from Taxes. It was further proposed that it should be publickly declared to the people that they ſhould be eafed of the Chimny Mony, and have Toleration in matters of Religion, which was thought would engage all the meaner people; That England ſhould be a free Port and all Strangers who would ſhould be Naturalized, which was looked upon as means to engage Foreigners on our fide; that there ſhould be no Taxes for the future but the Excife and Land-Taxes which ſhould be appropriated to particular uſes, and all forfeited Estates ſhould be applyed ſo too.

And this Examinant further faith, That this Examinant enquiring of Ferguson what Fond of Mony was provided, it was anſwered by him and Colonel Romzey, That if the Buſineſſ were done and backt with ſucces there could be no want of Mony, there would be half a years Revenue of the Chimny Mony then due beſides what the Excife-Office and Custom-Houſe would afford, and that there was Mony and Plate enough among the Bankers and Goldmiths which muſt be taken up upon Publick Faith if there were occaſion, and be punctually repaid again for the Reputation of the Caufe.

And thiſ Examinant further faith, That when Walcot agreed to engage in the ſaid Action he deſired his name miſt be concealed whatſoever the effect of it proved, whereupon Ferguson replied, No Man ought to be abſhamed of it, for 'tis a Gloriouſ Action and ſuch as I hope to ſee rewardeſ by a Parliament, and that the Actors in it ſhall have Statues Erected to them with Inſcriptions of Libera‐tores Patriæ,

And

And this Examinant further saith, That he acquainted Mr. Thomas Shepard Merchant that this Examinant had provided Arms in his former Examination mentioned, and that Ferguson promised to see for a Conveniency of Committing the Assassination between Hampton-Court and Windfor.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. Bourn a Brewer between great Queen-street and Parker-lane was acquainted with the intended Insurrections, and hath talked with this Examinant about them, and declared himself ready to engage in an Insurrection, but not in the Assassination, and the said Bourn was knowing of the Arms bought by this Examinant but was not at the Meeting when they were agreed to be bespoken, and this Examinant believes he acquainted Mr. Charlton Whitlock, Mr. Edmund Waller both of the Middle-Temple, and Mr. Hollford of Chancery-lane of the intended Assassination and Insurrection in November, but he did not do so till after the time for Execution was past: And further saith, That in the beginning of October last this Examinant met with Colonel Sydney at Uxbridge, where the said Colonel told this Examinant that many Tricks had been plaid in the Scrutiny of the Poll for the Lord Mayor, and that Sir William Pritchard was declared though not duly chosen, but said he, *All that I can say to it is what a Justice of Peace of Essex said lately to a Country Fellow brought before him for Killing a High-way-Man that would have Rob'd him; Friend, says the Justice, you have done well, but you might have been Rob'd if you would; and so we may be enslaved if we will, or else need not, or he used words to that purpose, but this Examinant to the best of his remembrance never spake to the said Colonel since.*

Rob. West.

Tbe

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at
Law.*

THIS EXAMINANT UPON FURTHER RECOLLECTION FAITH, THAT RICHARD GOODENOUGH AND FRANCIS GOODENOUGH FORMERLY OFFERED TO ACT IN THE INTENDED ASSASSINATION OF THE KING AND DUKE IF A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF MEN COULD NOT BE GOT TO DO IT, BUT AFTERWARDS BELIEVING THERE WERE MEN ENOUGH BESIDES, THEY BOTH DECLINED IT.

AND THIS EXAMINANT FURTHER FAITH, THAT AT SOME OF THE MEETINGS CONCERNING THE SAID ASSASSINATION, COLONEL ROWLEY SAID IT WOULD BE VERY CONVENIENT TO TAKE OFF COLONEL LEGG THE NOW LORD DARTMOUTH, FOR HE WAS A STOUT MAN AND OF DESPERATE COURAGE, AND BELIEVED IF HE COULD GET INTO THE TOWER, WOULD IN REVENGE FIRE ALL THE GUNPOWDER IN THE WHITE TOWER, WHICH WOULD ENDANGER THE WHOLE CITY. AND IT WAS SAID CONCERNING THE LADY ANN DAUGHTER TO THE DUKE OF YORK, THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO MARRY HER TO SOME SMALL COUNTRY GENTLEMAN AND HAVE A BREED ONLY TO KEEP OUT ANY FORRAIN PRETENDERS TO THE CROWN; AND AT ONE OF THE SAID MEETINGS, WHEN IT WAS DISCOURSED WHETHER THE KING OR DUKE SHOULD BE KILLED SINGLY, IT WAS AGREED, THAT RUMBALD SHOULD SEND OUT A SPY BEFORE, WHO BY SOME SIGNS SHOULD GIVE AN ACCOUNT AT A DISTANCE WHETHER THE KING AND DUKE WERE BOTH TOGETHER OR NOT, AND AT ONE OF THE SAID MEETINGS WHEN IT WAS DESIGNED THAT IT WOULD BE CONVENIENT TO TAKE OFF SOME OF THE CHIEF MINISTERS OF STATE, AS THE LORD KEEPER, LORD HALIFAX, LORD HYDE, RICHARD GOODENOUGH SAID, TAKE THE KEEPER PRISONER, AND TRY HIM AT OXFORD FOR THE DEATH OF COLLEDGE, AND HANG HIM UPON THE SAME POST ON WHICH COLLEDGE WAS HANGED.

AND AT ONE OF THE SAID MEETINGS THIS EXAMINANT SAYING HE WAS WELL ENOUGH ARMED FOR ONE, FOR HE HAD A GOOD MUSKET BLUNDERBUSS AND CASE OF PISTOLS, THE SAID RUMBALD DESIRED TO SEE 'EM, AND FINDING 'EM VERY GOOD SAID, *He believed he*

he must use the Blunderbuss in the Assassination, and told Ferguson, he must Consecrate it if he should use it.

And this Examinant saith, That at one of the said Meetings, this Examinant was appointed to speak to one Captain Bon a Seaman at Ratcliff to undertake the Raising a body of Seamen to surprize the Tower in case the Assassination had been committed, and this Examinant accordingly proposed to the said Bon whether he would undertake to do so; but the said Bon replyed, *He was going to settle in America where he was born, and did not care to be concerned, and feared he had not Interest enough amongt the Seamen if he would,* which this Examinant reported to the next Meeting, and the said Bon is since gone to live in New-England where he was born, or in New-Jersey.

And this Examinant further saith, That Richard Goodenough told this Examinant that he had spoken to one Mr. Grange a Brewer in Westminster to try what Men could be Raised in Westminster for carrying on the last Design of Raising three thousand Men out of the City and Suburbs, and also spoken to one Barnes a Hatter in Fleet-street to try what Men might be raised thereabout, but this Examinant never spake to either of the said Parties about it, neither doth this Examinant know nor hath heard what other Persons were employed by Goodenough or any other Person in that Design, and further saith not.

Robert West.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at
Law*

THIS EXAMINANT UPON FURTHER RECOLLECTION SAITH, THAT WHEN THE INSURRECTION INTENDED IN NOVEMBER LAST WAS RESOLVED ON, AND *WALCOT* AGREED TO ENGAGE IN IT, THE SAID *WALCOT* DESIRED THIS EXAMINANT TO LEND HIM SOME OF THIS EXAMINANT'S SUIT OF SILK ARMOUR, *VIZ.* A BACK, BREAST AND HEAD-PEACE, AND AFTERWARDS ASKED THIS EXAMINANT TO TAKE SOME COMMAND OF HORSE UNDER HIM AND TO ENGAGE SOME YOUNG MEN OF THE TEMPLE, TELLING THIS EXAMINANT HE COULD MAKE THIS EXAMINANT A SUFFICIENT OFFICER IN TWO OR THREE DAYS TIME, BUT THIS EXAMINANT REFUSED TO ENGAGE HIMSELF OR HIS FRIENDS EITHER, THOUGH HE OFFERED THE SAID *WALCOT* THE USE OF HIS ARMOUR.

AND THIS EXAMINANT FURTHER SAITH, THAT WHEN THE ARMS IN HIS FORMER EXAMINATIONS MENTIONED WERE ORDERED TO BE BEСПOKE, IT WAS ALSO PROPOSED THAT *FERGUSON* SHOULD PROVIDE THE 600*l.* HE PRETENDED TO HAVE READY FOR THAT PURPOSE TO BUY HORSES, WHICH SHOULD BE KEPT AT LIVERY STABLES IN THE NAMES OF PRIVATE GENTLEMEN, AND BE ALWAYS IN A READINESS TO BE MADE USE OF AS ANY OPPORTUNITY FOR AN ASSASSINATION OR OTHER OCCASION SHOULD OFFER, AND THE NIGHT OR TWO BEFORE THEY WERE TO BE USED SHOULD SEEMINGLY BE BROUGHT OUT OF THE LIVERY STABLES BY MEN TO BE EMPLOYED FOR THAT PURPOSE, BUT *FERGUSON* NOT BRINGING THE MONEY NO HORSES WERE BOUGHT.

AND THIS EXAMINANT FURTHER SAITH, THAT AFTER THE TREATY WITH THE SCOTS SEEMED TO BE AT AN END, AND THE 10000*l.* NOT LIKE TO BE HAD, *FERGUSON* TOLD THIS EXAMINANT THAT THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH WAS WILLING TO SPEAK WITH THIS EXAMINANT AND *GOODENOUGH* TO CONSIDER WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE IN THE CITY AND SUBURBS, AND TO LEAVE THE LORDS AND OTHER PEOPLE (BY WHICH THIS EXAMINANT SUPPOSES HE MEANT THE LORDS *GREY* AND *RUSSEL*, *SYDNEY* AND *WILDMAN*) BUT THIS EXAMINANT REFUSED TO GO TO THE DUKE OR TO *SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG*

strong, and knows not whether *Goodenough* went to the Duke, though he did go to *Armstrong*.

And *Ferguson* likewise told this Examinant, That if the English would not agree to stir, it was his opinion and the opinion of many of the Duke's Friends, and of the Scotch Gentlemen that were here, that the Duke should go to *Scotland* and head the Scots there; whereupon Mr. *Wade* who was then present said, If the Duke did go thither he would wait upon him in the Expedition as a *Voluntier*.

And this Examinant further saith, That at some Meeting for the carrying on the intended Assassination, *Ferguson* said, The King went frequently in the Night croſs St. Jame's Park in a Chair without any Attendance, and that it would be easie for two Men with Swords barely to dispatch him and make their Escape; whereupon Col. *Romzey* said, It was a strange thing to him, that the great Men who were so desirous to have the Busines done, should not make a Purſe and buy ſome good Office at Court for ſome Man whom they could truſt, who ſhould Roar loud of the Duke of Monmouth and the *Whiggs*, and by that means get into reputation and truſt, and ſhould obſerve and give an account of the King's and Duke's Walks and Hours and any Journeys they deſigned; and the ſaid Colonel ſaid he had told *Armstrong* ſo and bad him tell his Lords.

And this Examinant further saith, That about the time the Insurrection intended in November laſt was carrying on, this Examinant obſerved the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* and *Walcot* to be very intimate and often together, and the ſaid *Walcot* told this Examinant that the Lord *Howard* was as right as any Man for the Busines and as forward to engage, but this Examinant doth not remember that he ever ſpoke with the Lord *Howard* himſelf about that Insurrection. And further saith, Mr. *Roe* told this Examinant that *Gibbons* the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Servant offered to be one to commit the Assassination of the King and Duke. And further saith not.

Robert West.

The

*The further Examination of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at Law.*

This Examinant further saith, That after *Ferguson* had told this Examinant that a Sum of Money for carrying on the Assassination of the King and Duke in October last was paid to a certain Person who never returned it, of which the Lord *Shaftsbury* complained: The said *Ferguson* at another time a little before the Discovery told this Examinant that *Richard Goodenough* was the Person to whom that Money was paid, and that he called *Ferguson* Fool for returning some Money he had received for the same purpose, and Col. *Romzey* told this Examinant that Mr. *Charleton* paid that Money.

And this Examinant further saith, That when Mr. *Goodenough* told this Examinant that he would speak to *Hone* the Joyner to be one of the Assassins, he said he would first try him whether he would undertake an Attempt upon the Duke of *York* before he would break the whole Busines to him; and as he found him willing to that he would proceed. And this Examinant believes Mr. *Goodenough* did accordingly, for that the said *Hone* coming to this Examinants Chamber soon after, and being asked by this Examinant whether he had lately seen Mr. *Goodenough*? The said *Hone* answered, *He had*, and talked with him about a Jobb upon the Duke of *York*: And this Examinant asking him whether they were agreed; *Hone* replied, *Yes*, but this Examinant doth not remember that *Hone* then mentioned the King or any name or Description implying the King. And about five or six weeks since the said *Hone* came to this Examinants Chamber about a small alteration this Examinant designed to make in his Chamber, and then the said *Hone* asked this Examinant, *Master will nothing be done*? To which this Examinant answering He believed not, the said *Hone* replied, *If this Duke of Monmouth would be true and appear openly, I could bring fifty or sixty honest Fellows from our side of the Water* (meaning Southwark) *who would be ready for Busines as well as myself*, and this Examinant asking him what Busines? *Hone* replied, *Any Busines, either a brisk push* (by which this Examinant supposed

posed he meant a General Insurrection) or the other Trick or Jubb of taking off the two Brothers, the Captain and Lieutenant, which were two Names used for the King and Duke.

And this Examinant further saith, That when the Discourse was had concerning the Killing the Ministers of State, Colonel Romzey said, *The Lord Halifax was one of the Greatest Rogues, and deserved it more than any Man, for b: professing himself formerly of our Party, knows our weaknes and Divisions and hath exposed us and made the Court venture upon things which they would never have done otherwise.* And when Goodenough proposed that the Lord Keeper should be Hanged where Colledge was Hanged, this Examinant having an Opinion that the Lord Keeper was an Enemy to this Examinant and had used him very hardly in a Cause this Examinant lately had in Chancery, this Examinant desired that he might have the Custody of the said Lord Keeper a little while to make him sensible of his unkindness to this Examinant, but this Examinant never designed or desired to Kill the said Lord Keeper or any other person, nor would have had his Hands in any Mans Blood.

And this Examinant further saith, That Ferguson lately told this Examinant that Mr. Cromwel, Son of Richard Cromwel, who usually goes by the name of Mr. Cranbourn was so vain as to endeavour to make a Party for himself or his Father in the City: And Goodenough formerly, viz. about Christmas last told this Examinant that he believed the said Mr. Cromwel and Mr. Ireton the Son of Lieutenant General Ireton would assist in the intended Assassination of the King and Duke in Person.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. Goodenough told this Examinant that he had spoken to one Partridge a Shoemaker and Almanack-Maker in Covent-Garden to Act in this Assassination, and that the said Partridge offered to joyn in it if it were to be done in Town, but was not able to Ride and therefore would not joyn in the Attempt out of London: And further saith that the said Partridge had erected some Schemes and thereby found the Duke of York would scarce out-live March or April, and that the King was under an ill Direction too, and the People would be Victorious. And Mr. Ryley told this Examinant the same thing as to the Schemes Erected by Partridge.

And

And this Examinant further saith, That Col. Romzey told this Examinant that when Mr. Trenchard refused to go into the West and raise a Force for the intended Insurrection in November last, the said Mr. Trenchard was sent for to the Duke of Monmouth's House about it, and there were present the said Duke, the Lord Gray, and Col. Romzey: And further told this Examinant that the Lord Russel had prepared to go the then next Morning to his Post which was somewhere in the West, but this Examinant doth not remember the place.

And this Examinant further saith, That after the Discovery, Walcot told this Examinant, Col. Romzey, Wade, Norton Nelthorpe, Goodenough and Ferguson, that notwithstanding the said Discovery he was persuaded God would yet deliver, this Nation, but he did not approve of the present Instruments who had undertaken it, or used words to that purpose.

And this Examinant further saith, That he having a Son lately Born desired Col. Romzey to be Godfather, who said, *He would not, except he might name him Brutus*, but was afterwards prevailed with to do that Office, and give the name of John to the Child being the said Colonels own Christian name.

Robert West.

*The further Information of Robert West
of the Middle-Temple, Barrister at
Law.*

THIS EXAMINANT UPON FURTHER RECOLLECTION SAITH, THAT Ferguson formerly, viz. soon after his return from Holland told this Examinant that Dr. Owen and one Mr. Collins either an Anabaptist or Independent Preacher were the most sensible Ministers about the Town, and were both of Opinion that the intended Assassination and Insur-

G rection

rection were both lawful and necessary , and that Colonel *Owen Dr. Owen's Brother* was Privy to them and joyned with Colonel *Sydney* and Major *W. Ilman* in the management of the Treaty with the Scots, and that one Mr. *Mead* a Nonconformist Minister was Zealous in the Eusiness of an Insurrection but was not for beginning it in *London*, and Mr. *Netthorp* told this Examinant the same thing of *Mead*, and that he was able to Raise a thousand Men or more.

And this Examinant further saith, That Mr. *Netthorp* told this Examinant that in case of an Insurrection which he much desired, he would go along with the Lord *Riffl* wheresoever he took his Post and would furnish out himself and a Man with able Horses and Arms and a good summ of Mony.

And this Examinant further saith, That upon a Discourse with Colonel *Romzey* concerning a General Insurrection, the said Colonel told this Examinant that if he could have a thousand resolute Fellows to follow him and an other thousand Men to secure him at his back , he would undertake to drive the King , all the Court and the Guards out of Town so as they should not dare to look back till they were fled to *Winder*.

And this Examinant further saith, That the Mony which this Examinant received from *Ferguson* amounting to something more than the Arms bought by this Examinant cost , this Examinant by the direction of Colonel *Romzey* paid Five pounds to Mr. *Wade* to give to one *Manning* who was to have been one of the Assassines, and also in the last designed Insurrection to pay some Debts which *Manning* owed , and the said Colonel *Romzey*, Mr. *Wade* and Mr. *Norson* gave *Manning* a Guinny or 20*s.* a piece more. And the said *Wade* asking this Examinant whether he would personally engage in the last intended Insurrection, and this Examinant laying his infirm Constitution was not able to bear the toyl of a Soldiers life, Mr. *Wade* told this Examinant, then he must fit out some Men that would, and that this Examinant should give his Blunderbuss to *Manning* who was a strong stout Fellow able to carry it , which this Examinant agreed to , and to fit out two Foot Soldiers, or do any thing else was fit for him to do.

And this Examinant further saith, That at one of the last Meet-

Meetings for Raising the three thousand Men out of the City and Suburbs, Mr. *Bourn* reported he had communicated the Busines to Mr. *Lobb* a Nonconformist Parson, who had a Congregation of poor Zealous Men, and that Mr. *Lobb* embraced it readily, and promised to employ two trusty Men of his Congregation to go amongst the rest and engage as many as they could. And this Examinant further saith, That *Ferguson* had four several Lodgings during this Examinants Correspondence with him, at three of which this Examinant visited him, viz. at Mr. *Bourns* the Brewer, at Mr. *Owens* a Lawyer living at the further end of King-street in New-Southampton Buildings, and at a Cutlers over against *Wills* Coffee-House in Covent-Garden; his fourth Lodging was in St. Martins-Lane in the Fields at a Dutch Doctors, or German Quacks, which this Examinant never was at, and knows not the name of.

And this Examinant further saith, That Colonel *Romney* Discoursing with this Examinant further concerning the Duke of *Monmouth*, told this Examinant the Duke was inclinable to answer the Peoples expectations, and to submit to be little more than a Duke of *Venice*, but the Lords about him and *Armstrong* designed Great Offices to themselves and will not endure to hear of Terms, but cry all shall be left to a Parliament, whereupon this Examinant saying to him, It were but just to discover all their Intrigues, but the being an Informer is an ugly thing, Colonel *Romney* replied, *It is true our People are not worth venturing for and the other People are not worth saving, besides it would give a great Blow to the Protestant interest all the World over.* And further saith not.

Robert West.

The Examination of William Hone Joyner taken before Sir William Turner Knight and Alderman of the City of London, and one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace, the 4th day of July, 1683.

THIS EXAMINANT saith, That about the Fire time at Newmarket Mr. Richard Goodenough came to him to Cliffords-Inn where he was at Work at one Mr. Cark's Chamber, and ask'd him to go along with him, and told him he wanted some Labourers; This Examinant then asked him if it were honest? Upon which Mr. Goodenough clucht his Fist and struck it towards his Mouth twice or thrice, and told him it was to seise the King and the Duke, and that there would be 20*l.* apiece to buy Horse and Arms. This Examinant then told him he was well settled in his Trade and did not care to trouble himself. He then further told this Examinant that they had taken care to secure the City, and then they appointed to meet the next day at the Amsterdam Coffee-House, where they met together, and from thence they two went to one Sergeant's a Cooks-shop at the Sign of the Re-Buck at the Corner of Bartholomew-Lane where they Dined, and whilst they were there, there came in one Keeling and one Rumbald who had but one Eye, and after some Discourse Mr. Keeling said, *Let us go*, and Mr. Goodenough said, *We want Clothes*, Mr. Keeling replied, *He had Clothes for haif a dozen*, and further said, *let us make what we can and go*, Mr. Goodenough answered, *No*, and pointing to Rumbald said, *There is one knows the temper of the People better*. This Examinant further saith, That Mr. Goodenough, Mr. Rumbald and Mr. Keeling went from thence to a Tavern in Bartholomew-Lane where this Examinant came to them, but heard no Discourse at that time but drank and went his away.

This Examinant further saith, That a Fortnight after Whit-

Whitsontide he met Mr. Joseph Keeling and his Brother in Threadneedle-stree near the Exchange and they would needs Drink with him, and he went with them to the Flanders Coffee-House, and then Mr. Josias Keeling told him his Brother was a stout Man and could bring together thirty Men for his share, and then they went all three into a Room above-stairs, and then Mr. Josias Keeling said these words to him, *You know the Busines of the Rye*, this Examinant at that time knew the meaning of the *Rye*, but not the place they called the *Rye*: And they being three together they fell into Discourse concerning the King and the Duke of York, and how they should dispose of them and despose the King, and they being hot in this discourse this Examinant said he was for saving the Duke and securing the King, afterwards the two *Keelings* sent this Examinant to look for *Goodenough*, and told him they must needs speak with him presently, and after this Examinant had been from place to place to find him, and misfing of him he returned back to the Tavern where he found the said two *Keelings* and *Goodenough*, and some others who this Examinant doth not know; and there the said *Goodenough* and both the said *Keelings* retired into a private Room, but what passed between them this Examinant doth not know neither hath he seen them since. This Examinant further saith, That about Michaelmas last was twelve Month as he remembers Mr. *Goodenough* spoke to him to make a private place between his Roof and the Ceil-ing-Joists of his House with intent as he told this Examinant to put Mony in it because the Times were dangerous. So this Examinant cut the Rafters and untyled part of the House and made such a private place, and made a Frame and a Door for a Man to go in, and the Bricklayer Tyled it over and over the Door, but what use the said *Goodenough* afterward made of it this Examinant knows not. This Examinant saith, That the Persons engaged in this Conspiracy are Mr. *Richard* and *Francis Goodenough*, Mr. *Robert West*, the two *Rainbalds*, and one *Adderton a Glasier*, and *Lee a Dyar*, and both the *Keelings*, and a Crape-Weaver who lives about *Churwel-Street*.

This Examinant saith, That he hath work'd for the said Mr. *West* at his Chamber in the Temple, and one day meeting him in *Fleet-street* he asked this Examinant if the Ball were once up whether Gamesters would come in in four

or five Hours time? This Examinant replied, He thought they would. And at another time being at Work at his Chamber they fell into discourse together concerning the Deposing of the King and the Duke, and words to that purpose, but what the particular words were he doth not well remember. This Examinant saith, That to the best of his remembrance as he was Drinking with Mr. Lee at the *Kings-Head* Tavern in *Chancery-Lane* about a Fortnight after *Whitontide* last, the said Mr. Lee told him there was a Captain of a Ship would appoint the hurling of a Silver Ball at *Blackbeath*, which would draw a great Company of People together, and then he would give them Brandy, and then they would go and seise on the *Tower*.

This Examinant further saith, That he being at Work at one Mr. Percivals at *Chipenham* where the said Adderton the Glazier was also taking order to Work, the said Adderton asked this Examinant if Mr. Goodenough had said any thing to him about the Busines? This Examinant asked him what Busines? The said Adderton replied, He had told Lee of it, and that was all passed between them.

Will. Hone.

*Capt. & Cognit. coram me Dic
& Anno presen.*

William Turner.

Information

Information of William Leigh.

I Do declare that my first acquaintance with Mr. *Rouſe* and Mr. *Lee* was by reason of Captain *Blagg* and his Business to go his Mate, and the first time that ever Mr. *Rouſe* spoke any thing to me about the Plot, was one day I met him by the *Exchange*; He told me he had something to say to me; and to the best of my remembrance he asked me presently after, if I did know of any Seamen that were fitting to make Captains in *Wapping*: I told him, No, but I would see what I could do; and he promised, he and Mr. *Lee* to come to the *Blew Anchor* by *Wapping Dock* next Morning about Ten a Clock but came not: Another day, he and Mr. *Lee* came down and discoursed with ſome of Mr. *Rouſe's* Friends that he met, but they did not like his way and ſo parted.

And the first time that ever I heard of tossing up of a Ball was by Captain *Blagg*, but I do declare I knew not the meaning of it till Mr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Rouſe* asked me about taking the *Tower*; and whereas he or Mr. *Lee*, or Mr. *Rouſe*, or both, asked me about tossing up of a Ball, as I take it on *Blackheath*: I asked what they would do there? They told me there was ſome Hundreds of Horse ready in the Country; and as for Captain *Blagg*, I heard him ſay that Mortar-pieces over *Southwark* ſide would be the best way for the taking of the *Tower*; and I have heard him ſay, as near as I can remember, he could raise ſome Seamen, but the number I have forgot; and all that Mr. *Lee* ſpoke before the King and Council in my hearing was true. All this I am willing to attēſt; and for knowing of any others beſides Mr. *Lee* and Mr. *Rouſe* and Captain *Blagg* to be concerned in this Plot, I know not, neither can I call to mind any words ſpoken by any but thoſe three.

William Leigh.

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The further Information of William Leigh.

Shall it please your Majesty,

SInce I sent in my Paper, I have sent something more which came in my Mind since, That is about getting some Seamen that might be fitting to go Commanders or Captains of Ships ; and as he asked if I could not get two or three , sometime afterwards I did enquire what he would do with them , he told me to make Masters of Ships, I asked for what end ? He told me to put in Ships at Deptford or Woolwich , that is Men of War to make Guard Ships to stop all going and coming : I did ask him what he would do with them when there was no Guns nor Powder nor Shot on board ; but I told him if he had the Tower then he might do something : but his Answer was, If not then, some time after that, says he , Mr. Rous by Name, we must secure the Tower and Whitehal both together, or else there could be nothing done : For, says he, we must take the King and then our work is done, to the best of my remembrance : I asked what was then his Oath of Allegiance ? He told me if they had the King he should be King still, but fight under his Commission. I do think Mr. Lee was there present.

William Leigh.

Informa-

*Information of the Lord Howard to the
King, the 11th of July 1682.*

*The First Part of my Narrative being a
Summary Account of all that Occurred to
my Knowledge from September 29th
1682. to the time of the Earl of Shaftes-
bury's Death.*

About the middle of *September 1682.* I had occasion to go to a small Estate at *Tolbury* in the County of *Essex*, where I continued about a Fortnight waiting to hear of the ultimate issue and result of the long contested Election of the Sheriffs of *London*, which was shortly to receive a final Determination by the Swearing of the new Sheriffs into their Office.

During which time of my continuance in the Country I received two or three Letters from Captain *Walcot*, importing in a mysterious Stile, well enough understood by me, that the matters of Negotiation betwixt me and the Merchant my Correspondent were brought to a good Conclusion, and that my presence was speedily desired for the better perfecting the same.

Upon the 29th of *September* (being the day which put an end to the long Dispute about the Sheriffs) I returned to my House at *Knightsbridge*, where I had not been above two or three days before I received a Visit from Captain *Walcot*, who acquainted me that the Earl of *Shaftesbury* had withdrawn himself from his own House into a Retirement in the City, where (though he was secreted from most of his Friends yet) he desired to see me, for which pur-

purpose his Lordship had sent him to me to shew me the way to his Lodging.

I presently closed with the Invitation, and went along with him to one Mr. Watsons House about the further end of *Woodstreet* (reckoning from *Cheapside*) where I found his Lordship alone, who immediately begun to advise me in this manner, *viz.*

That finding the due Election of the City frustrated by the Pseudo-Sheriffs forcibly obtruded upon them, he could no longer think himself safe (though Innocent) in the future administration of Justice which must hereafter be expected to be wrested by such Ministers to the Humour of the Court, but this Danger threatned not him only, but me also, and all honest Men in *England*, in the sense whereof he had thought it necessary for him (and believed it no less necessary for me) to withdraw himself into the City, where he had made such preparations (meeting with a disposed matter) that he did not doubt but in a short time he should be able to reduce things to a better posture: That in order hereunto there were several Thousands (I think he mentioned 10000) who were ready upon Notice given to betake themselves to Arms. First to make themselves Masters of the City, and afterwards Sally out and Attack the Guards at *Whitehal*, that they were to be affisted with about a 1000 or 1200 Horse to be drawn insensibly into Town from several adjacent parts of the Country under the Conduct of several good Officers, amongst whom he made mention of Major *Bremen* (and of him only) but there was nothing hindred the putting of this into speedy Execution, but the backwardness of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Russel* (to whom were affixt the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Brandōn*, Sir *Henry Ingoldsby*, and several other Gentlemen who would not stir without the Duke) who had unhandsomely failed him after their promise given him to be Concurrent with him in the like undertaking (at the same time) in *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and other Counties to give variety of Diversion to the standing Forces; That the Lord *Grey* seemed to be more forward then than the rest to joyn with him, with whom (if he could be gained) he intended to Couple me for the raising

raising of *Essex*, and that the Lord *Herbert* and Colonel *Romzey* would be assistant to him in the Conduct of the City Affairs, together with very many Eminent Citizens who desired to have their Names spared till the time of Action, with many other particulars too long to be enumerated in this short Summary.

To all this I answered, That I was glad to hear and was willing to take it upon his Credit, that the City was in as great a readines for Action as he had exprest; and that there would be so considerable a Body of Horse brought out of the Country for their Aid as he had intimated, nor did I doubt but he had prudently provided for all the requisites to so great an undertaking. But withal that I could not but be much surprized to hear that there should be so great a misunderstanding betwixt him and those Noble Lords whose Concurrence I thought absolutely necessary for so great a Work, that if they had failed him (as he had related) after an appointment made, they had acted very unsuitably to the Character they bore, and would deservedly forfeit the opinion was had of them, that I must be allowed the Liberty to discourse with them about it and till then to suspend as well my Censure of them as the Resignation of my self to him in the matters propounded by him; upon these terms I parted from him, promising to see him again within a day or two.

The next day I went to *Moor-Park*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* then was, and in short acquainted him with what I had heard, as well concerning himself as the Lord *Russel*, &c. He absolutely denied that he, or (as he believed) my Lord *Russel* had ever made any such appointment with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they were altogether Ignorant of what was doing by the said Earl, who for some time (upon what *Capricio* he knew not) had withdrawn himself from them and acted upon separate Councils of his own, grounded (as he feared) upon the hasty Conceptions of some Hot-headed Men, who might lead him into some untimely undertaking, which in all probability would prove fatal to himself and all the Party: For prevention of which he said he would be glad (if he knew where) to give him a Meeting, and to re settle a better understanding with him,

Having

Having had this Account from the Duke I made a second Visit the next day (being *Thursday* the 3d or 4th of *October*) to the said Earl, to whom I communicated what had passed the day before betwixt the Duke and me, and thereupon took occasion to strengthen my self with Arguments of the absolute necessity of a speedy Conference betwixt him and the other Lords as well for the removing the present misapprehensions they had of each other, as also for the Consolidating them into such an Union and Concert of Councils as might render them all joynly helpful to the Common Interest by an harmonious and uniform Acting to the same end in which they did all agree, however they might differ in the means. This I urged upon him with all the vehemency that the nature and importance of the thing required, but he still persisted in a refusal of a Meeting, saying with some more than ordinary warmth, That he had long discovered in the Duke a backwardness to Action, by which they had lost great opportunities, that he had cause to suspect that this artificial dilatoriness of the Duke proceeded from a private agreement betwixt his Father and him to save one another. That People (so he termed that *Imaginary Army* in the City) were impatient of longer delays, having advanced so far already that they could not safely retreat: The Intention of an Insurrection being communicated to so many that it was morally impossible to keep it from taking Air, if it was not speedily brought into Act, that one of his Friends (whom I afterwards understood to be *Rumbald*) had drawn almost an Hundred Horse into *London* by small and unobservable Parties a little before *Michaelmas-day*, who (after they had continued here a good while at their Expence) were again retired to their respective places of Abode; That such frequent Disappointments would weary the Party and flat their Spirits and make them at last resolve to fit down in a total Despondency; But it was much to be feared the Duke acted with a Prospect very different from theirs, he designing nothing more than the Advancing himself whilst they could not hope that ever their Liberties should be well secured for the future, but under the Government of a Commonwealth: That for these Reasons he was fully determined to be no longer expectant upon the Duke's Motions, but would pursue his former intentions of Attempting

tempting the deliverance of his Country by the help of an honest Brisk party in the City, with whom if the rest of the Lords would be co-operating they might share with him in the glory of so honourable an Undertaking, but if they would not be hoped he should be able to effect the Work without them.

Howard.

July 11th 83.

This was the Substance of the second Conference I had with him, which I reported the next day to the Duke, who desired me to make one Assay more to procure an Interview.

This occasioned my going to the said Earl a third time upon Saturday the 5th or 6th of October, at which time I did prevail with him to give me a promise of meeting the Duke and my Lord *Russel* the next day in the Evening, but in stead of coming, he sent his Excuse both to the Duke and me, the next Morning by Colonel *Romsey*, and straightway removed to another Lodging, where he continued to secret himself till the time of his departure out of *England*.

During the time of his Concealment, divers intimations were given, some to me by Captain *Walcor*, others by others to the Duke, of Days appointed for their intended Insurrections; One appointment was about the latter end of October at which time the Kings return from *Newmarket* was expected; but this was prevented by the Duke, who prevailed with them to put it off to a longer day in expectation of a Concurrence of the Country with them.

This Adjournment (as I remember) was for a Fortnight, at which time returns from the Country gave Discouragement to the proceedings.

After this the second of November was made a day peremptory, as I have been informed, but that also was put off

off I know not upon what Disappointment , which often Failures caused the said Earl to take resolutions of Conveying himself beyond the Seas, which he did accordingly.

Whilst these things were in Agitation , I have several times had some dark Hints given me from Captain *Walcot*, from *Good-nough*, from *Weft*, from *Ferguson*, of Striking at the Head , of shortning the Work by removing two Persons, by which I did apprehend that there was a design of making some Attempt upon the King and the Duke , or one of them ; but when and where , and by whom , and in what manner and place this was to be acted, I never saw.

This ends the Transactions during the Life of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the rest shall be made a Second Part.

Howard.

July 11th 1683.

A Continuation of my former Narrative.

After the Death of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, it was considered, That as there had appeared both in City and Country a very prompt and forward disposition to Action; So it might justly be feared that either the minds of Men might (in time) stagnate into a dull Inactivity, unless proper Acts were used to keep up the fermentation , or (which was equally dangerous) that the unadvised passions of a Multitude might precipitate them into some rash and ill-guided undertakings, unless they were under the steering and direction of some steady and skilful hand. For prevention of both these evils , it was thought necessary that

that some few persons should be united into a Cabal or Council, which should be a concealed Spring both to give and to guide the Motion of the Machine.

The persons designed to this general Care were the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Russel, the Earl of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sydney, Mr. Hambden Junior, and another whose Abilities and Qualifications did in no degree fit him for such a Province.

The first meeting of these Six was about the middle of January at Mr. Hambdens House, at which Consultation there was only propounded some General Heads, which were afterwards (upon more mature thoughts) to be Debated, viz. Where the Insurrection should be first made whether in the City or in the more remote parts of the Country, or in both at the same instant; what Counties were thought to be best dispos'd to, and best fitted for this enterprize; what Persons in the respective Counties were the most useful and most ready to be engaged; what Towns easiest to be gained, and the most proper for a general Rendezvous; what Arms were necessary to be provided, how to be got, where to be dispos'd, what sum of Money was of absolute necessity to answer publick occasions; how and by what Methods such a sum of Money was to be raised so as not to draw into observation, nor to administer occasion of Jealousie: And lastly, which was the principal, and thought to challenge the chiefest Care, how Scotland might be drawn into a Concert with England and which Persons there fitteſt to be Consulted withal about this matter.

This was the sum of that days Conference.

The second Meeting was about ten days after, at the Lord Russells House, where were present every one of the foreſaid Six.

At this Meeting it was propounded that a speedy understanding should be settled with the Lord Argyle, and that in order thereunto ſome fit Person or Persons should be thought of to be ſent to him, and to be a constant medium of Correspondence betwixt him and them, that care ſhould be taken to be rightly informed of a true state

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state of *Scotland*, of the general Bent and Inclination of the People, of the capacities or incapacities they were under, and that some trusty Messenger should be forthwith dispatched thither to invite two or three of the most valuable Gentlemen of that Country into *England* to the end they might be advised with about the general Design.

The Persons nominated to be called into *England*, were the Lord *Melvin*, Sir *John Cockran*, and I remember another Gentleman of the Family and Alliance of the Lord *Argyle*, who (if I mistake not) was of the same Name also, and a Knight, but of this I retein but an indistinct remembrance.

Some other things were confidered of, but of no great moment.

At the conclusion of this Meeting it was agreed, that there should not be any other meeting of this Cabal (unless in case of some extraordinary Emergency) until the return of the Messenger sent from hence, and the arrival of the foresaid Gentlemen out of *Scotland*.

This affording a kind of Vacation I soon after went into *Essex* whether I was called by the Concerns of my Estate, after that I went to *Bath* whither I was enforced to go by the Infirmitiy of my health, so that what was done or argued on after this, I can give no account but by heresay.

Howard.

July 11th 1685.

A Supplement of some things which (upon recollection) have occur'd to my memory since my former Information.

I Remember that my Lord *Shaftsbury* complaining of divers persons who had deserted him and fell short of their Engagements to him, amongst the rest named his Cousin *Charleton* (meaning Mr. *Charleton* of *Totteridge*) who (he said) had promis'd and was able to bring in great assistance to him, upon which he did much rely, but was quite fallen from him, and had so wholly attacht himself to the Duke of *Monmouth* and my Lord *Russel* that he would act only by their measure

Speaking also of Major *Wildman*, He said that he was very forward in the work, and very active in it; And being told by me, that amongst other things which were wanting in such Enterprize, the want of some Great Guns seemed to me not to be the least. He told me that they should be furnished with two Drakes by a Friend (whom he did not name) which two Drakes I have since thought may be those two small Pieces found with Major *Wildman*.

The Person mentioned in my former Narrative, who (as my Lord *Shaftsbury* said) had offered to kill the Duke with his own hands, I do now distinctly remember to be Mr. *John Ayloffe*, to whom he Answered [*No Jack thou shalt not kill him till we have an Armed Force to Justifie it.*]

About the 10th or 12th of October after a stop put to the then intended Insurrection, the Duke of *Monmouth* told me that he had seriously thought of it (meaning the Insurrection) and that after divers ways proposed and seriously considered of, he was clearly of Opinion that there was nothing so easie to be accomplished, nor so probable to do the Work effectually as to fall in upon the King at *Newmarket* with a smart party of Horse of about Forty or Fifty, which he said he could soon have in a readines.

To which I answered, That I was of the same opinion, but whether or not it would be decent for him to appear in person in an Attack to be made when the King was in Person, deserved his consideration. Two days after I spoke to him of it again, and ask'd him what thought he had of it; He answered me that it could not be brought about soon enough. After which I never Discoursed more with him about it; but upon reflection I am apt to think that from this time, and not before the Design of Way-laying the King in his return to *London* was first meditated, and I am the more confirmed in this Opinion from the Consideration of the behaviour of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Grey* who seemed to be very big of Expectation of some great thing to be attempted upon the day of the King's coming from *Newmarket*, upon which day (as I have before observed) Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was not to be found till the King's Coaches were come into Town, and I do verily believe he was to have headed the Party. To this also may be added, That the Duke of *Monmouth* within few days after told me that he had that day given order to have his Horses carried into *London* to have been in a readiness to have Mounted upon any Emergency.

I do further call to mind, That there is a considerable Person living in *Spittle-Fields* whom I very well know, and have often been in his Company (but cannot remember his name distinctly) this Man I have been told did undertake to bring in two or three Hundred Men upon the strength of his own Interest when occasion should require; He is well known to Mr. *West*.

Howard.

Further

Further Information of Colonel Romzey,
June 11th. 1684.

SIR Thomas Armstrong was at the Meeting at Mr. Shepards, when I was there, and was one that undertook to view the Savoy and Mews to see in what posture the Soldiers were and how easie or difficult it would be to surprize them.

Sir Thomas Armstrong did tell me that Gibbons came to him and acquainted him that Mr. Roe and he had been to see the Earl of Bedfords Garden, and told him that was a fit place to take off the King and Duke at, but in other Terms which now I have forgot.

Sir Thomas Armstrong did come to me the Sunday night after the Fire at Newmarket and told me that he just came from Ferguson, and that notwithstanding they returned so soon, Ferguson did not doubt to have Men ready by that time to do the Busines, and desired me to go with him to Fergusons Lodging in his Coach, which I did; when I came there Ferguson told me the same, but that they wanted Mony, Mr. Charleton not being to be found, upon which Sir Thomas desired me to lend some, and he would see me repaid, and said if had been in stock he would have done it himself; upon their perswasion I went to my House I think in Sir Thomas his Coach and brought forty Guinnes; he again repeated that he would see me repaid; several times after he told me Ferguson had my Mony and wondred I would not go to him to receive it.

After the Discovery Sir Thomas came one night and told me he wondred I was not gone and did importune me to be gone with the first, and in the mean time to keep close for that I was mightily hunted after.

J. Romzey.

A Letter from Sir William Stapleton, Governor of the Leeward Islands, to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

Nevis Jan. 25th. 1685.

Right Honourable,

WHAT now offers to inform your Honour is that having seen the Kings Proclamation and a List in Print of the Conspirators in the last Most Detestable Plot; I found one James Holloway Merchant therein specified fled and Indicted, who went by another Name, viz. John Milward, whom I have caused to be secured in order to send him home by the next good opportunity, which is by one Captain John Wilkinson Commander of the Ship Joseph of London a good Sailor.

William Stapleton.

The

*The Information of James Holloway
Read the 11th of April, 1684.*

Great SIR,

I Your Majesties most humble, but too much misled, and disobedient Subject do here inost faithfully, according to the best of my Remembrance, give you an Account of what I knew concerning the late discovered Conspiracy, how I came to be concerned, how far I was concerned; how it was to have been carried on in *Bristol*: why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast my self at Your Majesties Feet for Mercy; How I made my escape, and where I was till taken. If I shall through forgetfulness omit any thing that it may be thought I am privy to, I shall be ready and willing truly to answer any question that shall be asked by Your Majesty, or any Your most Honourable Privy Council, no way despairing of Your Majesties Mercy, but remain in hopes that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from Your Sacred Breast ever since Your happy Restauration is not yet Dry, and that there is some drops left for me, who doubt not but to serve Your Majesty both at home and abroad, much more Living than my Death will.

That which I have cause to impute the occasion of my being Concerned, was my too Publick Spirit, preferring Your Majesties and my Countries Interest much before my own; but especially in attending the two last Parliaments, promoting an Act for the encouragement of the *Linnen Manufacture* and the preventing of Frauds in Your Majesties Customs, &c. Which would have brought in and saved to Your Majesty near 20000*l. per Ann.* and employed many thousands of Poor, &c. as is well known to many Worthy Persons about Your Court, and indeed proved my Ruine, otherwise than in this Concern, by bringing me into too great acquaintance for one of my Capacity, and by that to be concerned as I was. My Attendance on those two Parliaments I doubt have been misrepresented.

How far I was concerned

After the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, I observed a great dissatisfaction in People in most parts where I travelled, but heard nothing of any Design till July 1682. when one Mr. Joseph Tyl of Bristol came from London; I meeting with him, asked what News, he answered to this effect, All Bad, and if some speedy course be not taken we shall be all undone, for by their Arbitrary, Illegal ways and by force of Arms they have got Sheriffs to their Minds, Witnesses they had before, but wanted Jurors to believe them, now they have got Sheriffs naming Mr. North and Mr. Rich, who will find Jurors to believe any Evidence against a Protestant, and so hang up all the Kings Friends by degrees; I then told him that I thought it was impossible such things could be done, but the King must hear of it; no said he, there's none suffered to come near the King, but those who have been declared Enemies to the King and Kingdom by Parliament, naming some that were mentioned in the Printed Votes, who to save themselves do endeavour to keep all such things from the Kings knowledge, and perswade him against Parliaments, with much more such like Discourse, by which I found the same was discoursed throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, as a means to engage People. At length he told me that the Protestant Gentry, naming the Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Howard of Effrict and others were come to a Resolution, seeing fair means would not do, but all things on the Protestants side are mis-represented to the King by such great Criminals, and none more in favour than those, to take the King from his Evil Council, and that by an Insurrection in several parts of England at once, viz. London, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Chester, Newcastle, York, and some other places in the North, and that there would be a considerable party ready in Scotland, and another in Ireland, therefore said he, we must consider how to manage affairs in Bristol, for if they proceed at Michaelmas in choosing Lord-Mayor as they did Sheriffs, and to Swearing of North and Rich; it

it must begin in *October* or *November*, otherwise there will be some Sham-Plot contrived to take off most of the Stirring Men in the last Parliaments ; with much other discourse to the same effect, adding, that Mr. *Wade* would come down very suddenly, by whom we might expect a full Account of all. About the end of *August* as near as I can remember, Mr. *Wade* came down, who confirmed what Mr. *Tyl* had said, but could say little as to any farther Resolution they were come to above, either of any Time or Method agreed upon, but that the Design went on, and Men were employed in all parts to try how people were inclined, who found enough ready, and that there would be no want of Men, if it was once begun. Then we considered how it may be managed in *Bristol*, and what Number of Men might be needful for the first Onset; towards which he said, We might depend on 150 Men from *Taunton* or thereabouts, and concluded that 350 might be sufficient to secure it without the Blood-shed of one Man, it being our Design to shed no Blood if possible, but this we resolved not to acquaint any of our Friends with, till the Day and Method was resolved, of which he said we should have Ten or Fourteen days notice; and having soon considered of a Method, waited in expectation of further Advice, but none came till *November*; then we heard that some dif-appointment happening they were forced to delay it, thô there was more and more cause for it. The end of *December* or beginning of *January* had advice that it was deferred to the beginning of *March*. The third of *March* I came to *London*, and meeting with Mr. *Wade*, asked him how things went, who answered that he could not tell what to make of it, for he could find nothing done more than was nine Months before. The Great Persons who were the Managers having done nothing but talkt of things, but now there were some others appointed to manage it, who were Men of busnes naming them to me, viz. The Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Howard* of *Eccrick*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Russel*, Col. *Sidney*, Major *Wildman*, Mr. *Hambden* the younger, and Mr. *Charlton*, who he did suppose would make something of it, and not do as the others ha^d done, make a years talk to ensare many thousands of People to no purpose; for these had already sent Mes-

sengers into *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to know their minds, naming one *Aaron Smith* sent into *Scotland*, and at the return of the Messengers would come to a Resolution as to time and method, but he was confident they could not be ready before *Midsummer* by reason they had done so little in order to it. Mr. *Wade* was then desigh'd into the *West* upon the Earl of *Stamford*'s busines, and said if he could understand any thing more before he left *London* he would take *Bristol* in his way and acquaint us with it. This Journy he brought me to Col. *Romzey* with whom we had little discourse, he being going forth with his Lady. The sixth of *March* I left *London*, and went directly for *Bristol*; about the Twelfth of *March*, Mr. *Wade* came to *Bristol*, but then could say no more than as above, the Messengers being not come back from *Scotland* nor *Ireland* and was of his former opinion, that if any thing were done, it could not be before *Midsummer*, he then expect-ed to be about two Months in the *West*, and said that if any thing was agreed upon sooner, one Mr. *West* a Coun-sellor had promised to write to him in the name of *Ingle-stone*, and direct his Letter to be left at his Brothers in *Bristol*, who *Wade* ordered that if any such Letter came, to open it, and if any thing material in it, to send it by a Messenger to him into the *West*. About the 17th of *March* came a Letter for him from *West* in the name of *Inglestone*, which his Brother opened, and not understand-ing the Stile brought it to me, but I knew not the meaning thereof. The Contents was to desire Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together the next *Saturday* come Fort-night, for that was the day appointed to Seal the Writings, and neither of us understanding it, his Brother sent it by a Messenger after him, who found him at *Taunton*, and his Answer by the Messenger was, that he knew not the meaning of it, but should be within Ten miles of *Bri-stol* the next *Saturday*, desiring that if any other Letter came, to send it to him. About three days after came another Letter as above, desiring him not to call his Clients together, for the time of Sealing was put off, which Let-ter was also sent to him, but he understood it not, say-ing it was some rash busines or other and so went back again.

The

The 5th of April I came to *London*, and that Evening went to Mr. *Weft's* Chamber in the *Temple* where I found him, who then did not know me, but when I told him my Name, from whence I came, and mentioned the two Letters Mr. *Wade* received from him, he began to be somewhat free in Discourse with me. I then told him that Mr. *Wade* and his Friends were surprized at the Letters, not knowing what he meant by them, and did desire to know, concerning which he seemed a little shy, but after a little Discourse, began to tell me, saying, there was a Design to take off the King and Duke coming from *Newmarket*, which they expected would have been that Saturday mentioned in his Letter, had not the Fire happened, which caused them to come sooner; nay, said he, had we known they would have stayed so long as they did, their business should have been done: I then asked him what he meant by desiring Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together by that day, and what he could propose they should have done, to which he could say little, only that they might be ready. I then told him, that I thought it a very rash thing, and that few in *England* would approve of it, that I was sure none about us would, being a most Cowardly dishonourable action, besides the basest sin of Murther; then, said he, what is designed by the General Design but to take them both off, and if it had been done that way, it would have prevented a great deal of Bloodshed in the Nation; no, said I, no such thing is designed as I know of, the General Design being only to get the King off from his evil Counsels, who had advised him to put a stop to Proceedings against Popish Plotters by Dissolving of Parliaments, &c. and to bring all Popish Offenders to Justice, and such who had betrayed the Liberty of the Subject; and this I think was all the Discourse we had at that time, being the first of my acquaintance with him: that night I went with him to a Tavern in *Fleetstreet*, where was Captain *Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and one Mr. *Ayllof*, who to my knowledge, I never saw before nor since; whilst I was with them there was no Discourse of any business, but I soon left them together. The next day Mr. *Roe* of *Bristol* brought me to Mr. *Ferguson*, at the House of one Mr. *Bourne* a Brewer, but was not admitted to

see

see him himself; *Ferguson* then went by the Name of *Roberts*, who when I had told my Name and from whence I came, was pretty free in Discourse with me, and told me the Design went on very well, that there were some *Scotish* Gentlemen come up, who were treating with the Managers, and did hope they would agree in few days, and come to a Resolution both as to time and Method, of which we should have timely notice, but by all his Discourse at that time I could not perceive that he knew any thing of the *Newmarket* Design.

That day I had some discourse with Col. *Romzey* at his House, who I found was privy to the *Newmarket* business, and his opinion was that the General Design would come to nothing, for he did not approve of the Managers actings, and said there was nothing like the other Design, for that would put an end to all in a little time; then I told him that I thought none in our parts would be for it, which I think was all the Discourse we then had, only he promised that if any thing was agreed before Mr. *Wade* came up, I should hear of it, so I took leave and went for *Bristol* the next Morning. About ten days after, hearing nothing from them, (*Ferguson* having told me that he thought all would be agreed in four or five days, and promised to advise) I wrote to Mr. *Weft* desiring to know how they went on, who wrote me that they still met with delays, and were come to no Conclusion, after that I heard no more till *May*. About the beginning of *May* I came up to *London* again, in Company with Mr. *Wade* and some other *Bristol* Men, but when we came up, my business being in the City, and theirs about the *Temple*, we parted; after two or three days I met with Mr. *Wade*, and asked how he found things, who told me, he doubted all would prove a Sham, for he thought there was nothing intended, finding nothing materially done in order to what had been so long discoursed. Then we went to Mr. *Weft*, and discoursed him fully about the Contents of his Letters, who told us, they were resolved to kill the King and Duke as they came from *Newmarket*, in order to which, he had provided Arms for fifty Men, Pistols, Carbines and Blunderbusses, and that they were promised the House of one *Rumbold* a Maltster, which lay in the Road, and the King must come by his Door, there the Men

Men should have been Lodged. Then we asked who was to have acted it, to which he could give but a slender Answer, and could or would name but two Men, who were *Rumbald* and his Brother, saying, if they could have raised six or eight hundred pounds to have bought Horses, and something to encourage Men, they should have had Men enough: so that we found they had few Men, if more than two, and no Horses, only a parcel of Arms, which afterwards he shewed us at a Gun-smiths House in a little Lane near *Temple-Bar*: Then we asked him what they designed if it had taken effect, to which he answered, that the Men should have come up with all speed to *London* and dispersed themselves immediately, declaring for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that the King and Duke being dead, no opposition could be made; then we asked who were for this Design, he named Colonel *Romzey* and *Richard Goodenough*, and, as far as I can remember, no more; so we found it was carried on by them contrary to the knowledge or approbation of those who managed the General Design: then we declared our great dislike of it, telling him, it was a base Dishonourable and Cowardly Action, and would seem odious to all the World, that any pretending themselves Protestants, should be concerned in such a Bloody Action, and that we thought it was his Cowardize put him upon it; to which he said, that he could not Fight, but would be as forward with his Mony as any of his Capacity. Then we went to Colonel *Romzey*, who we found to be wholly of *Weft's* Opinion, saying, that except something be done that way, I know nothing will be done at all, for he knew the other Managers would do nothing; so we had little Discourse at that time. After this we went to *Ferguson*, who told us how things stood; we then found that he knew of both Designs, but was only for the Insurrection, and told us, that the Managers had been Treating with some *Scotch* Gentlemen; that they were almost agreed, and that the Mony they were to be supplied with, would be ready in three or four days, being Ten thousand pounds which was to be returned to *Holland* to buy Arms, &c. for *Scotland*. He also told us that the *Scotch* Gentlemen had made another Proposal to the Managers, thus; If they would supply them with Thirty thousand

thousand pound, they would begin it in Scotland first, which they could soon have, and then would invade England, desiring the Managers only to get a Party in the North of England, ready to oppose any Force from coming out of England against them, before they had settled Scotland: but this was not approved of, the Managers rather chusing to supply them with 10000*l.* and to begin it in England the same time. Then we daily expected to hear when the Mony would be paid, but still found nothing but delays, the Managers not agreeing how to raise the Mony, and that if the Mony had been ready, they were come to no Conclusion as to any Method more than they were nine Months before, having done nothing but talked to ensnare people, reporting about in all parts how the Liberties of the people were daily more and more infringed, and that Arbitrary Government and Popery was coming in apace, which incensed People very much, and made such a grumbling in all parts, that we fear'd longer delays would make the common people in many parts mutiny, it being as we thought so gen'rally known, except something was suddainly done, it was impossible it should remain undiscovered, so the next time we met with Romzey and Ferguson (tho never together) we declared our dissatisfaction by reason of such long delays, and spoke it so as that it might come to the Managers Ears, as we suppose it did, being to this effect, *That we thought they had only a design to betray people, drawing many thousands into a snare, for their actions shewed little otherwise, being so long discoursing a thing of that nature and done so little towards it:* Few days after meeting with Romzey again, he told us they were of different opinions concerning a Method, some for beginning the Insurrection only in London and Scotland, some for it in all places at once as at first proposed, others for several places in England and Scotland, and not in London, saying that if it was not begun in London but in other places, there would be Forces raised in London to send out against them, which would take out most of their strength, and that then London might be easily secured; sometimes they were for beginning it only in London and Scotland and to have people come up to London from all parts of England, to which we answered that we thought no way better than what was first proposed,

proposed, (*viz.*) the beginning of it in many places at once, as before-mentioned, for although we had engaged none in or about *Bristol*, nor should not endeavour it till all things were concluded, yet with the assistance we were promised from *Taunton*, did not doubt but to get Men enough to secure it, and that we knew not where to get Ten Men that would come for *London*, and supposed it might be so in other places, Men might be willing to secure their own Countrey who would not be willing to leave all and come for *London*. *Romzey* then said if he knew where to get at the head of 1000 Men he would begin it presently, and desired that we might meet the next night with some others and consider of things, so the next afternoon we met at *Richard's Coffee-house* near *Temple-Barr*, and from thence to a Tavern near, I think called the *Little or Young Devil Tavern*, where met eight persons, (*viz.*) Colonel *Romzey*, Robert *West*, Captain *Norton*, Captain *Walcot*, Richard *Goodenough*, Francis *Goodenough*, Nathaniel *Wade* and my self (this was the first time I knew *Walcot*.) When we were all set, Colonel *Romzey* spoke to this effect, as near as I can remember the same words, Gentlemen, if we can raise Three thousand Men in and about *London*, there is a person of Honour will appear at the head of them and begin the business; which we supposed to be the Duke of *Monmouth*, and do not well remember whether he mentioned his Name or not. Which proposal much surprized Mr. *Wade* and I, that he should then question the raising of Three thousand Men, whereas when it was first mentioned to us we thought they had been sure of many thousands in *London* at an hours warning. Then it was considered how Three thousand Men might be raised and how they might do something to the purpose: then we declared what method we had concluded on for the management of Affairs in *Bristol*, which was as followeth, and they could think of no better way, so it was concluded that *London* and the Suburbs should be divided into Twenty parts, and one Man made choice of in each division who should chuse out Ten in his division that he could trust, and each of those Ten to find out Fifteen, which would make 161 in each division, so that Twenty divisions would produce 3220. in order to which a Map of *London* was to be bought the next day,

day, and each division drawn out in a particular Paper, mentioning every Street and Lane of Note in it, with the *North, East, South and West* bounds thereof, and to be brought the next Meeting two or three nights after; at the first Meeting it was agreed that none should know of this Design, *viz.* (of the chief Managers) till all the Men were secured, and that those Seven (I being not to stay long in *London*) should meet every two or three nights till all was compleated. At this Meeting *Romzey* and *West* would be often saying, there was nothing like the Lopping busines, meaning the taking off the King and Duke, and that it might be easily done as they went to or from *Windfor*, or to or from the *Play-houſe*, but I never heard any agree with them in it. Next day a Map was bought and brought to *West's* Chamber in the *Temple*, where some met to divide it and draw out the Divisions against the next Meeting. The next place we met at I think was the *Castel-Tavern* in *Fleet-street*, where some of the divisions were brought, all being not done, and then it was consider'd how they should be distributed, being we were most strangers, and agreed that *Richard Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff, and so had a general Acquaintance, should do it, who was willing to undertake it, the rest of the divisions to be ready against the next meeting, which was two or three Nights after at the *Green-Dragon Tavern* upon *Snow-Hill*, where when Mr. *Goodenough* came he told us, That he had disposed of some of them, and did hope it would take effect, and that in a Week or Ten Days he should have fixed the Twenty Men; the consideration how things should be manag'd, was deferred till they were sure of the Men, only some mention'd their Opinions how the *Tower*, *Whitehal*, and other places might be best surprized. The *Tower* was thought might be best gained in the Day time, *Whitehal* and other places in the Night, with many such things in way of discourse: *Romzey* was still upon the old strain of killing the King and the Duke, saying (at this the last Meeting I was at, going for *Bristol* next Morning) that it might be done in *Windfor-Park*, and that he would undertake it, but not except every one there present would go with him, to which not one consented; I replying that I was for no such thing.

thing, but seeing the other Business had gone so far, and was known to so many, if they could bring it to bear in *London* and other places, I rashly said, Rather than fail of *Bristol* we will undertake it at Noon-Day with an Hundred Men; to which *Romzey* said, I was a bold Fellow; they then promised (when they were sure of the Men) to advise and take care for some Arms for us at *Bristol*, and that we should have some Great Person come down to Head us; but I heard no more till the news of the Discovery came in publick Letters; I remember one time when *Wade* and I was with *Ferguson*, he told us that the Duke of *Monmouth* was brought to a low Condition, all his Places being taken from him, and his Tenants in *Scotland* (being so severely dealt with upon account of their Religion) were not able to pay Rent, so that his Estate there, which was accounted worth Ten or Twelve Thousand Pound *per Annum*, did not yield him the last Year Two Thousand Pound, that he was not well pleased with the management of Affairs, and desired Mr. *Wade* to Appoint a place where he would meet the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, to discourse them, to which Mr. *Wade* replied, *He would meet none of them, for such Great Men had betrayed the Nation already, and ensnar'd too many Thousands to no purpose.*

How it was to have been acted in Bristol.

We concluded that the only way to secure *Bristol* would be by a surprize, which with about 350 Men (150 of which we depended on from *Taunton*, the other 200 to be raised in and about the City) might easily be done about four of the Clock in the Morning, as soon as the Watch were gone off, without the Bloodshed of one Man, thus, dividing the City into fourteen parts, so making thirteen Posts besides the main Guard, which should at first have been at the *Toulzy* (which is in *Bristol* as the Exchange here) we supposed twenty Men might be sufficient for each Post, and the remainder for the Main Guard, out of which might be spared four or six Files to be constantly marching about, and to assist where there might be occasion. The Method we designed for the raising 200 Men in and about the City was thus, first to find out thirty Men, two for

for each Post, and four for the Main Guard, who might be able each of them to procure six and to command them, which would have made fourteen for each Post and twenty eight for the Main Guard, to whom the *Taunton Men* should be added, (*viz.*) six to each Post, and the remainder to the Main Guard, who should have come in the Day before, some at every entrance of the City and lodge themselves at Inns and Ale-Houses as near the Posts they were appointed for as they could : Each Man being to know his Post and Commanders before they came, the *Bristol Men* to Lodge themselves and Arms, with Arms for the *Taunton Men*, in an House as near as possible to their Posts, and to send one out from each Post between Three and Four of the Clock in the Morning to observe the motion of the Watch, and to advise as soon as they were gone off, that they might all immediately repair to their respective Posts, calling the *Taunton Men*, and as soon as they had gained their Posts to send out a File of Musquettiers to fetch in such and such Men in each of their Divisions as they should have had an account of before, and convey them to the Main Guard, which in the fourteen Divisions would have been about Sixty Persons, Commission-Officers and others ; then to fetch in all the Arms and Ammunition they could find, which two things being done (as we supposed might be in a little time, and without any opposition, the Posts being so near each other, that it would have been impossible for any Number to get together) we resolved next to declare the Reasons for our taking up Arms, and to encourage all to come in to us that we could trust, not doubting but we should soon have had many Thousands in the City, and out of the adjacent Counties, *Gloucester*, *Somerset* and *Wiltz*.

The Reasons why I did not come in, &c.

When the News of the Discovery first came to *Bristol*, and some time before, I was in some trouble by my Creditors, and forced to abscond tho' thought I had sufficient to pay them, only desired time to get in my effects, their Mercy I feared more than your Majesties, and thought if I should come in and find mercy with your Majesty, I could at first expect no better than a Prison, and if from

it discharged by your Majesty, to be kept in by them upon account of my Debts. Secondly, hearing there was very many (in and about *Bristol*) supposed to be concerned, and I (tho' knowing so much) being able to prove so little against any Man, but such against whom there was sufficient proof without me, feared that if I should come in more would be expected from me than I could prove, and so might fail of Mercy, it having been our resolution not to discover the Design to any of our Friends till the Managers had agreed both upon time and method, therefore considered how to make my escape, there being then a strict search in all Ports, thought best to continue in *England* for some time, till the heat might be over, and so got an ordinary Habit and a little Horse about forty Shillings Price, and travell'd the Country as a Man dealing in Wooll, in *Gloucestershire*, *Oxfordshire* and *Somersetshire*, till about the middle of *August*, then repaired towards *Bristol*, and by Letter with my Wifes Assistance (all other Friends thereabout fearing to act for me) prevailed with a Poor Man who had a small Boat about Ten Tuns, for Twenty Pounds reward and the like per Month, for six Months, to go with me for *France*, and from thence to the *West-Indies* or where I would, my Name being then in no Proclamation or Declaration, if it had I should not have prevailed with the Man to go with me. So the Twenty third of *August* Sailed from *Kings-Road* for *Rochel*, the 25th proving bad weather, crackt our Mast, and so put into *St. Ives* in *Cornwall*, where we stayed till the fourth of *September*, then put out again for *Rochel*, but meeting with contrary Winds was forced into several places in *France*, and gained not our Port till the Seventeenth. In *Rochel* I loaded her with Brandy and other Goods, and the fourth of *October* Sailed from thence for the *West-Indies* (being willing to know how my Concerns lay there, that my Creditors might have their own, tho' I knew I might be much safer in *France*) and arrived at *Barbadoes* the eleventh of *November*, there I heard of my Name being in the Gazette, therefore stayed but two Days landing part of my Cargo, from thence I went to *Anrigua*, where I landed and disposed of the remaining part, staying there about ten Days; but it being too soon for the Crop, and my charge being the same lying still or going farther, also

I thinking

thinking it not safe to lie long there, resolved to see the rest of the *Caribby-Islands*, and so went down to *Mountserrat*, *Nvis*, St. *Christophers*, St. *Estatia* and *Anguilla*, and so back again to St. *Christophers*, supposing that to be the safest place, I being known to none there, where I stayed about three Weeks. About the fourteenth of *January* I wrote to my Factor in *Nvis* about what was due to me, who on receipt of my Letter discover'd me, so that Sir *William Stapleton* presently sent his Warrant to St. *Christophers* to Apprehend me, but before it came I was gone down to St. *Estatia*, expecting to meet my Vessel there, which I had sent up to *Barbadoes*, and it being known where I was gone, the Deputy-Governour of St. *Christophers* sent five Men with his Warrant after me, to whom on sight thereof I submitted, tho' had an Opportunity and might have escaped, but was rather willing to cast my self at His Majesties Feet for Mercy, than live such a Life any longer, not daring to appear where there was need of me (among my Factors) who I doubt will take too much Advantage by my Troubles for my Creditors Interest. In *Nevis* I was kept a Prisoner thirteen Days, where I promised Sir *William Stapleton* that I would make what Discovery I could, giving him the Names of some who I had acquainted with it in *Bristol*, which I suppose he hath given an Account of desiring him that it might be kept private, for if it was known they would have Advice of it; but it was not kept so private as I expected, for the Night I came off I was told of it, therefore suppose they were advis'd by a *Bristol* Ship that came away before us, by which I wrote not a word, I suppose she might be at home long before us, we being nine Weeks and five Days. All that I can say against any of them, except *William Wade* who is before-mention'd, is That I Acquainted them with the Busines, as I believe many Thousands in *England* were, and do suppose they would have been concern'd. Hereunder is an Account of many other Persons that I have heard were concerned in the Design for an Insurrection, Which is all that I can call to mind of any thing material that ever I heard concerning the Plot.

Copies of the Informations.

125

A Paper found in Mr. Charleton's Custody.

Worthy Sir,

THe particulars underwritten, are a brief Account of what Service was done since May the 15th 1680. during which time Six Pound per Annum hath been paid for Rooms, most what for that Service, besides Wages to two Servants amounting to upwards of Ten Pounds, which is not at all Charged to the Aceount. And all Earn'd and Charged on that Account is but 56/. 10 s. for Paper and Print, viz.

The Black Box, First Impression Paper }
and Print Number 1500 } 5 00 00

Second Impression with Alterations 3 05 00 00
Number 1500

The Answer to the Declaration Three }
Sheets, Number 3000. Paper and } 18 00 00
Print

The two Conferences, Five Sheets, Number 3500. Paper and Print \$ 25 00 00

Reasons for the Indictment of the D.
of Y. Number 1000. Paper and } 02 16 00
Print

For Bags, Boxes and Porridge 03 00 00

Sum is 56 10 00

Whereof Received 33 00 00

Remains 23 10 00

Besides all the large promises when engaged in that Service, viz. to be the Parliament Printer (and when the Parliament sat, had not one Sheet to do of all the vast

Numbers done for them.) Also 100*l. per annum* and Reimbursement for an Engine made on purpose for the Service, which cost 15*l.* A former that cost 16*l.* being rotted in the former Publick Service.

Towards all which, Eight Guinnes were received of Mr. Ferguson said to be his own Gift. This is a Brief Account of what past under Mr. Ferguson's Order, which shall be faithfully made appear to his Face if he dare stand the Test. By Sir, your most humble Servant.

Captain Walcot's Letter, To the Right Honourable Sir Leoline Jenkins.

Honoured Sir,

I Being in the Country, and to my great trouble seeing myself in his Majesties Proclamation, I came last Night to Town, resolving to lay myself at His Majesties Feet; let him do with me what he pleaseth; This is the first Crime I have been Guilty of, since His Majesties Restauration, and too soon by much now: If His Majesty thinks my Death will do him more good than my Life, God's Will and His be done. Until I sent your Honour this Letter, my Life was in my own Power, but now it is in the Kings; to whom I do most humbly propose, That if His Majesty desires it, I will Discover to him all that I know relating to England,

England, Scotland, or Ireland ; which I suppose may be something more than the Original Discoverer was able to acquaint His Majesty with ; especially as to Ireland : There is not any thing His Majesty shall think fit to ask me, but I will answer him the Truth, as pertinently and as fully as I can. My intimacy with a Scotch Minister, through whose Hands much of the Business went, I judge occasioned my knowing very much : And I do further humbly propose, That if His Majesty thinks it advisable, I will follow those Lords and Gentlemen that are fled into Holland, as if I fled thither, and had made my Escape also, and will acquaint the King, if I can find it out, what Measures they resolve of taking next : I do assure His Majesty, the Basness is laid very broad, or I am misinformed. And I am sure as to that particular, if my being with His Majesty, and your Honour, be not Discovered, I shall be ten-times abler to serve him than either Mr. Freeman, or Mr. Carr ; for they will trust neither of them. There's scarce any thing done at Court, but is immediately talk'd all the Town over ; therefore if His Majesty thinks what I have presumed to propose Advisable, I do then further most humbly Propose, That my waiting upon His Majesty may be some time

within Night, that your Honour will acquaint me the Time and Place where I may wait upon you, in order to it; and that it may be within Night also, and that no body may be by, but His Majesty, and your Honour; And if His Majesty pleaseth to Pardon my Offences for the Time past, he shall find I will approve myself very Loyal for the future; if not, I resolve to give His Majesty no further trouble, but to lye at His Mercy, let him do with me what he pleaseth. I purpose to spend much of this Day in Westminster-Hall, at least from Two of the Clock to Four. I beg your Pardon I send your Honour this by a Porter: I assure your Honour, it was for no other reason, but because I would not have a Third Person Privy to it; and that I might have the better opportunity to make good my Word to His Majesty, and to approve myself

Your Honours most

humble Servant

Thomas Walcot.

Minutes

*Minutes of Walcots Confession before His
Majesty the 8th. of July 1683.*

The first Business was spoken of in a place and at a time he does not now remember.

But it was agreed that Lord Shaftesbury should have the Command in London.

Lord Russel in Devonshire,
Lord Brandon in Cheshire.

Duke of Monmouth in Taunton and Bristol.

This agreement did not hold long; Some coming to Town that said the Countries were not ready,

The last Business was spoke of about a fortnight before Afo-Wednesday last: Captain Walcot had no Conference about it with any Lord but with the Lord Howard of Escrick.

Ferguson did oblige Captain Walcot to bring him and the Lord Howard together: The Lord Howard and Ferguson discoursed together of the ways and means to surprize the Tower.

Lord Shaftesbury told him that the City was divided into twenty parts, and that there was to be a Chief to every part, and he was to choose fifteen Men to assist him within his Division.

Lord Shaftesbury told the Duke of Monmouth that the King was to be deposed.

Rumbald was Lieutenant of Horse in Fairfax's Army.
Walcot served in the same Army.

Richard Goodenough said the Duke of Monmouth expected six thousand Men together in London.

Lord Russel and Lord Grey were to Mortgage Lands for the Raising of ten thousand pounds.

Lord Howard of Escrick was concerned in the Grand Consultation.

Captain Walcot always opposed the Assassination: He will leave 800 l. a year behind him.

Ferguson told Walcot about a quarter of a year ago that the Earl of Essex was in this Affair.

A Note taken from Walcot, by Captain Richardson Keeper of Newgate, July the 11th 1683.

IF Colonel Romzey be to be spoke with I would have you speak with him to be tender of me, that will do him no hurt, he hath room enough to serve the King upon others, and if Mrs. West would do the like to her Husband, her Children —

On the other side,
Run no hazard nor speak with him before any body, if you cannot be private leave the issue to God.

Two Letters from the Mayor of
New-Castle, Dated June 1st 1683.
To Mr. Secretary Jenkins, about
Pringle, &c.

New-Castle June the 1st 1683.

Right Honourable,

WE presume to acquaint your Honour there are two persons Apprehended and Committed to His Majesties Gaol here, with whom there are found divers Sedition Papers and Letters, they were for going

going beyond seas, the one of them goes by the Name of Alexander Pringle, the other Edward Leviton, when their Papers and Writings were seized on, they attempted to destroy and convey the same, but were prevented : We have sent by Express the Writings so seized on to his Grace the Duke of New-Castle our Lord Lieutenant, to forward the same with this Letter to your Honour. What Commands we receive from your Honour shall be obeyed by, &c.

New-Castle June the 13th 1683.

Right Honourable,

WE Received your Honours Letter of the 5th Instant, do acknowledge your favour and kindness therein, we have and shall make it our chief Care and Study to Apprehend all such Offenders, and do our utmost Endeavours on all occasions for His Majesties Interest and Service, we are satisfied one of these persons is Alexander Gordon of Earleston though now called Pringle, both these Prisoners were delivered Testerday to Colonel Strother to be safely Conveyed into Scotland according to His Majesty's Commands. We are, &c.

A

A Letter to Mr. Alexander Pringle,
seized at New-Castle.

London March the 20th 1683.

S I R,

ON Saturday last I had the occasion of seeing a Letter from you directed for Mrs. Gaunt in whose absence Mrs. Ward had Received it, at the reading of which I was not a little troubled, considering my full resolutions signified to you in my last, for effectuating of which I had spoke for passage and taken my farewell of Mother Gaunt she going into the Country; And that very Week I was so set upon by the Gentleman with whom I stay, and Jo. Johnston with some others, to stay but a month, and if that did not accomplish somewhat in hand to help Trading, then I should be no longer detained. After I was prevailed to retract so far I Ordered Jo. who had time at Command to give you an ample account of matters: And withal Jo. was desired by our Friends from Scotland to stand here in my place: The like Engagements of Secresie, &c. being taken

taken, and thereupon I ordered him to shew you the grounds of my staying, and to desire if you inclined to cross the Water to come this way. But since many are the confused, yea troubled Thoughts that have possessed me for Tielding : Concerning which as also my yielding to it, take the subsequent account. In my last, or it precedent to it, I shewed you that Trading was very low here and many breaking, which hath made the Merchants, such as they are, to think that desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures. And while that they have some stock it will be better to venture out than to keep Shop and sit still till all be gone and then they shall not be able to act but let all go, which Resolution I thought a thing not to confide in, seeing the most of them are Fire-side Merchants, and love not to venture where storms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they shewed the Model of Affairs in such order that I see venture they must and venture they will, whereupon I demanded how our Trade would be carried on. Answer, They knew well what goods had proved most prejudicial to their Trade and therefore they thought best to insist upon Negatives. In which whatever I proposed is assented to, as I find, and this they thought best to still some Criticks in the Trade,
and

and by this means to endeavour the dispatching the old Rotten Stuff before they order what to bring home next, this looks somewhat strange to me, but when I consider all circumstances I think they for themselves do best in it, for our Merchants I made account only to have had some stock for to set the broken ones up again, and so bid them here farewell, and they to try their way and we ours since they think fit that some of those whom we have found (as you will say when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade consulted and accordingly have done, whereupon I fear or rather hope that our Merchants though broke will rather desire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with such, and to advance their Trade unless surer grounds of their fidelity be gotten than is or can be expected. And this is the bottom of all my sorrow. But to proceed I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almost at a point to set forward if they had their Factors home who are gone to try how the Country will like such Goods as they are for or against the making sail of. Friends I mean Merchants wrote to me that after I had spoken to you possibly you might come this way the better thereby to advise them what to do in this case for I have

have signified somewhat of it to them , but not so far as this ; because I thought to have seen you long ere this time , but I hope you will not misconstrue of my staying , seeing in it I designed nothing but advancement of our Trade . But once this week those Factors sent for will be here , and then matters will (in instanti) either off or on , break or go through : Wherefore in reference to friends I desire you will advise me what to do if you cannot or think it not convenient to come here , if you do let a Letter precede , and if any strange thing fall out this week or the next , I will again Post it towards you . I think when this and the next week is gone (and no news come from you) that I shall set forward being still so ready as that in twelve hours I can bid Adieu .

The Whiggs are very low as well in City as Suburbs all Meetings being every Sunday beset with Constables to keep them out , and what they get is stolen either evening or morning . This Winter most of the great Bankers and Goldsmiths in Lombard-street are broke and gone . The Bantam Factory in the Indies is taken by the Dutch , Confusion Confusion in Town and Country , such as you never saw . Mrs. Ward and several others desire to be remembred to you : My

My endeared Respect's to your self and B.
with the young Men arrived. This I have
writ in short and in hast, expecting a line
with as great hast as you see is needful;
for matters are full as high as I tell you.
Farewell.

From your Friend and Servant Jo. N.

Be sure that you direct not for Bednal-Green,
but for me at Mr. Meads in Stepney near London.
Directed on the back thus; To Mr. Alexander
Pringle to be left at Mr. Alexander Hope his
House in Four Glass Haven, in Rotterdam,
These.

*The Examination of John Nisbet of Step-
ney taken before John Tendring, Esq;*

THIS Examinant being duly Examined, doth say that he was born in Northumberland, that he was bred a Scholar at Edinburgh in Scotland, that he came from thence to London, that he was Usher at Mr. Watson's School at Bednal-Green, that from thence he came to Mile-end, and there lived about a year in the House of one Mr. Mashew Richardson, and taught his Children. This Examinant saith further that he came down to Bradwell with Mr. Richardson, and that being a Scholar he did intend to go beyond Seas into Flanders, and put himself into some Colledge.

This

This Examinant wholly denied that he knew Mr. Richardson to have any other Name.

Capt. coram me

Jo. Tendring.

A Copy of Earlestoun's Commission,

Omnibus & singulis Religionem vere Reformatam Profitentibus ad quos præsentes pervenient.

Quin, Variæ Angustiæ, pertristes persecutio[n]es, & opprobria nostræ (hic in Scotia) Ecclesiæ, magna, ad vestras venere aures, nentiquam est nobis in dubio: Quum, depresso, & quoad externa, Status devastatus; quo, pro Fide Sanc[t]is traditâ, & nostræ Ecclesiæ privilegiis & jure peculiari contendendo, redacta est, fere omnibus sit notus: Quorum intuitus & consideratio una cum magna, de vestri (in nobis interesse, spe concepta) hunc Dom. Alexandrum Gordon de Earlestoun Legatum nostrum, vobis omnibus, Reipublicæ Israeliticæ fatoribus

fautoribus, & benevolentibus mittere & demandare non sine multa causa, persuasit; causam, & Statum nostrum malitiose, subtilitate aduarsiorum vobis representatum, cognoscentes qui, eo ipso ut, nos, & quicquid a nobis actum, vobis reddant ridiculo; in male representando, & Pseudographias actionum nostrorum dispergendo, vigilantissimi sunt: Quasi progressus nostri & principia Verbo Dei (*supremo contraversiarum judici*) & vere Protestantismo, essent contraria: Quum nos, nec quicquid tenere, nec tenere cupere, Verbo Dei scripto, & antiquis, Civilis, & Ecclesiastici Status, legibus; & pristinæ reformationi contrarium, declaramus, sed cum omnia in eo fundentur, potius (*Deo dante*) actiones nostras ei reddere conformes cnpimus. Quapropter nos Protestantes, Antierastiani, Antiprelatici, & Tirannide agitati, in Scotia Presbyteriani, huic nostro legato, concedimus ei plenum consensum & assensum dantes fideliter, & vere, omnes vere Reformatos, ad quos perveniet, informatos reddere: Quod solummodo nos ipsos in via Domini puros (*Dei gratia*) quoad possumus servare, intentes sumus & viam majorum, vere illustrum in nostra nobili reformatione propaganda in diversis, ejus, a Papismo, Prelatura, & Erastianismo gradibus, & vestigiis incedere cnpimus, atque hæc

hæc sunt nostrarum persecutionum (pro præ-
senti) capita & cause. Ad quorum pleni-
orem & clariorem notitiam, hujus nostri
Legati relationi remittimus ; Testimonio cu-
jus, cum sit in rebus nostris, publicis decla-
rationibus & martyrum Testimoniis, sat
versatus, ejusdem nobiscum judicii, & sub
iisdem perpeſſionibus fidem dare potestis. Hu-
millime igitur oramus & obsecramus ut re-
lationi hujus nostri Legati tanquam vere
fides a vobis detur, & ut nullius narrati-
oni, vel date vel qua posthac detur, de no-
bis, principiis, & progressu nostro sicut verbo
Dei, votis, juramentis, ei datis, & relati-
oni hujus nostri Legati, contrarie cum sit
tantum calumniose ab adversariis data cre-
datis. Quocirca, omnes Zionis fautores
oramur ; nostrum statum, quo redacti sumus,
non parvi facere, sed serio perpendere ; Deus
enim omnes, ad sympathiam vocat, & per-
pendum est, omnes conſurationes & Adver-
ſiorum consultationes, in universam Eccle-
ſiam esse destinatas : Et uno membro patienti
totum corpus cum eo compati debet. Datum
Edinburgi decimo die Aprilis Anno Domi-
ni millesimo sexcentesimo octuagesimo secundo.
Et ex nostro mandato subscriptum a Clerico
Conventionis nostro sic subscribitur Jacobus
Renwick.

K

The

The Examinations of Gordon late of Earle-stoun taken before the Committee of Council, July the 5th. 1683.

In presence of the Earls of Linlithgoue, Perth, Bishop of Edinburgh and Register.

Alexander Gordon of Earleystoun being Examined again by Order of the Council upon several Interrogators arising from the Letter sent to him by Jo. N. Dated London March the 20th. 1683.

As to the Secrecy to be taken of the Man that was to stand in Nisbets place. That it was an ingagement of Secrecy and some Queries to try if they agreed in Principles.

Being Interrogat of the account of Matters written to him by Jo. at the desire of Jo. N. Declares that it was a Letter under the Metaphor of Marriage, and that by the Marriage he understood a Rising designed there.

Being Interrogat what the Merchants being low and breaking did mean. Answers, That he thinks it means that their people, v. z. The Dissenters were breaking in their Stocks by Excommunications and other Courses, and therefore they were resolving upon desperate courses; which was Rising in Arms.

Being Interrogat what is meant by the said Merchants. Answers, Some that lived at their ease and quiet would not venture to Rise when they saw much danger.

Being Interrogat what is meant by the *Model of Affairs, that would make them venture.* Answers, That they had shewn to Jo. N. a Model how they would go about their Affairs in order to their Rising.

Being Interrogat anent their *Resolution to insist on Negotiatives, and what were the Goods that proved prejudicial to them formerly.* Answers, That the meaning was, they resolved to agree in what they would put down, which he

he thinks was the whole Government, Civil and Ecclesiastick, but that they would not determine positively what they would set up.

Being Interrogat what *was it that Jo. N. proposed to them that they assented to.* Answers, He thinks he had stated the grounds of the quarrel Relative to the present Government, and that they had assented to it. But declares that when Jo. N. was speaking to him of these things he thought them of that nature that he shun'd discourse upon them to receive Information concerning them, because he had no mind to meddle with them.

That by *Criticks of the Trade,* is understood the Scotch Fanaticks because they are nice in associating themselves.

That by the *dispatching of the old rotten stuff,* he thinks it the dispatching of the Secretaries or the present Government, but rather thinks it was the last.

That by the *Broken ones which he was to set up,* is meant the Scotch Fanaticks to be helped by Contributions, and that by their *trying their way and we ours,* was meant, the English was for Rising in Arms, but the Scotch Fanaticks were for delaying some time.

That by those called *Treacherous Dealers,* he thinks is meant both the Secretaries and the present Government, who had formerly broke their Government, but never heard these persons named.

That they being *at a point to set forward,* is meant their being ready for Rendevous.

That by *Emissaries* is meant persons sent out both in Scotland and England from London to try the Peoples inclinations to a Rising and to incite them to it; and that *these Merchants who advised Jo. N. to send for the Declaratant to come that way,* were the Meetings of the Fanaticks in Scotland.

That by *advancing of the Trade* he thinks is meant the Carrying on of the Rising.

By that part of the Letter which tells, *That when the Factors would return that matters would instantly be off or on,* That the meaning was that when these Factors came in they expected Money for buying of Arms and then they would instantly have Risen, but that the Money was not come in at that time when he did meet with Jo. N.

That by the *Strange thing that might have fallen out in*

a Week or two, he understands no other thing than the Insurrection intended.

Declares that this *Jo. N.* was a person that past under the name of *John Nisbet*, an Englishman, and stayed at one Mr. *Mead's* in *Stepney* which *Nisbet* was an Usher of a School at *Bednal-Green* before.

That the close of the Letter bearing that things were *fully as high as I tell you*, is meant the present intended Rebellion.

That by the Capital Letter *B*, is meant one Mr. *Brake* a Minister in *Lewarden* in *Friesland*, and the *young Men*, are some Students who are in *Holland*.

Being Interrogat what he heard of the Earl of Argyle's concurring or assisting in this Insurrection, Answers, That he heard by report in *Holland* that *Argyle* had undertaken to Raise Ten thousand Men to assist in that Rebellion, and that he was to furnish himself with Arms in *Holland*, and about the time of this report which he thinks was in *December* or *January* last, he heard *Argyle* was in *Holland* but that he did not see him, and to the best of his memory *Jo. N.* also told him of the Earl of *Argyle's* concurring in the Rising, but remembers of no other person.

Being Interrogat upon the little Letter from *Stepney* which he thinks was about the beginning of May, Dated Friday at Seven a Clock, That the Man whom he speaks of, is Mr. *Mead* a Minister, and that by the words, *what my Hands find to do*, was meant *Jo. N.*'s going to *Holland* and that the Declarant was to meet with Mr. *Mead* to let *Jo. N.* go.

Further declares that *John Johnston* was one, who at other times past under the name of *Murray* who is a little Man Pock-marked, and wears a Periwig. *Sic subscrbitur.*

A. Gordon, Linlithgow, Perth, Jo. Edinburgen. Geo. Meckenzy, J. Drummond.

This is a true Copy of the Original Declaration and Answer made by Alexander Gordon late of Earlestown to the Interrogators proposed to him by the Committee of Council, which is attested By me.

*William Paterson
cls. Sti. Concilij.
The*

A Copy of Alexander Gordon's Examination, June 30. 1683.

THe said *Alexander* being Interrogate what he knew of the Author of that Letter directed to *Alexander Pringle* of the Date 20 of March last, to be left at *Alexander Hopes* House in *Glof-haven, Roterdam*, which runs upon the *Metaphor of Trade*, answereth, That the Author of that Letter seemeth to him to be one *Jo. Nisbet*, with whom he conversed a year ago at *London*, and ordered the said *Alexander* to direct his Letters to *Bednal-Green*, and since to *Mr. Mead* in *Stepney* near *London*, and that he the said *Alexander* had written a Letter to this *Jo. Nisbet*, challenging him why he came not sooner over to *Holland* as he had promised, dated about *January* last; and that he received this Letter by the *Metaphor of Trade* in answer thereunto; and that the venturing spoke of in the Letter was to signify a Resolution of a speedy Rising in Arms; and that the *Factors* therein mentioned signified their Agents and Emissaries who were sent out into different corners both in *England* and *Scotland* to know the Pulse of their Complices and Parties if they were in readiness to joyn and rise with them, and that they brought back accounts of their willingness so to do, and readiness for an Insurrection. And as to the assistance they were to have from *Scotland*, he understood it at his last coming here, and some Months before he came over in *May* last, he heard amongst the Dutch People commonly reported that there was to be very shortly a Rising in *England*, and that the Earl of *Argyle* was to furnish from *Scotland* Ten thousand Highland-Men for their assistance; and that at his coming hither last he heard that there was a Person come from *England* to Sir *John Cockyan*, alledging he came about the Affair of *Carolina*, but that he had discovered himself to a Servant of the Lord Treasurers that he had come to *Scotland* upon other matters, and that the Letters for *Scotland* from any Correspondents of the Par-

ty in which Earleſtoun was engaged was directed to Mr. Henry Emertſon written in Edinburgh; and that before he came laſt hither in May, the meeting of these Phanatical People had received a Letter from England ſubſcribed by one J. S. whom he takes to be one Murray as he named himſelf to Earleſtoun (as the other forementio ned person named himſelf Jo. Nisbet) in which Letter there was the Metaphor of a Marriage anent which all things were agreed and the Marriage ready to be ſolemnized which occaſioned their ſending for him the ſaid Alexander Gordon to have his Mind concerning that Affair; and they interpreting that Letter Signed by J. S. from England to concern the ſeeking of their assistance in their intended Riſing there, he did diſwade them from it: and that by the Marriage they underſtood a Riſing to be intended in England; and that it was ready to be ſolemnized, was to ſignify, that an Inſurrecſion was to be very ſpeedily on foot; and declared that theſe with whom Earleſtoun converſed here declared that they believed that the Persons who came from England to Sir Jo. Cockran were ſent to manage a Correspondence in order to the de sign of Riſing in Arms.

The

The Relation of Alexander Gordon of Earleſtoun of what he was informed of, and heard as followeth.

About the time of the Election of *Rich and North*, I heard that there were some designs of Rising in Arms of some people in *England*, and in order thereto there was some Treating with my Lord *Argyle*, but not agreeing to the terms my Lord left them, and I heard it ceased for some time and went over to *Holland*; and when he was there, I was informed of the renewing of the Treaty, and agreed upon the following terms, *viz.*

That the Earl of *Argyle* should raise Seven thousand Men, and the Treators (who as I was informed were English-men) were to advance the said Earl Ten thousand pounds Sterling; and this was agreed to in *April* last.

The persons in *England* were by Information the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; but after the said Earls decease I did not hear so much of the Duke of *Monmouth*. I was also informed of *Ford* Lord *Grey of Wark* his being in the Design.

I was also informed that those concerned in *Scotland* most in the said Design, were Sir *John Cockyan*, *Jervisbroed*, *Siffnock* Elder and Younger, and that Sir *John Cockran* the one day kist His Majesties Hands, the other day went to the Cabal anent the above-written Design.

I was also informed, That no small number of the Gentlemen in the *West* and other places in *Scotland* upon their resentment of the present Government, particularly as to the *Test* and other Papers put to them, were not resolved to stand to them although they should take them, but rise upon the first occasion.

This Information I heard from Murray alias Johnstoun, who as I heard was a West Country-man in Scotland, who offered to take me along to their Cabals, but upon my refusal to meddle in the designs kept himself and told no more than those generals.

I met with Mead at one Mr. Cooks a Merchant living near the Exchange in Austin-Fryers in London, but I do not mind what he spoke of the aforesaid Design to me, but thinks not, for I was a stranger to him, and not acquainted before that time; and this I subscribe before these Witnesses, Sir William Hamilton of Prestoun, Master John Vans Keeper of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

*A Copy of the Interrogators proposed to
Alexander Gordon sometime of Earl-
stoun in the Committee, 25th of Sep-
tember, 1683.*

1. **T**O Interrogate the said Alexander Gordon what Correspondence he did hold with the pretended General Convention from whom he had his Commission. And if he did not write a Letter to, and hold correspondenc with them before he came last to Scotland, and upon what account he did write that Letter to the said Convention which is mentioned in one Letter to him from one Michael Sheills, bearing that the Convention had received his Letter, &c. And if to his knowledge the said pretended Convention General did not hold any exact Correspondence, and Intelligence with the disaffected Party and other their Adherents both in England and in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and what the said Correspondence was, and if it was not to the weakning and diminishing if not to the ruining and over-

overturning of His Majesties Government both in Church and State as it is now Established within His Majesties Dominions.

2. Upon what account was he moved to accept of the said Commission and what other Instructions he had from the said pretended Convention General in order to the Methods he was to take for inviting the assistance and supply of the Foreign States and Churches unto which he was Commissionate, and if he had not Instructions for imploring their Aid by Supply of Money and other Necessaries for fitting and capacitating the distressed Party in *Scotland* to subvert and overturn, at least to resist His Majesties Government in this Kingdom.

3. Who were the Persons who did fit and assist in the said Convention General when his Commission was ordered, and who did preside thereat. And that he would declare such of the Members of the said Convention as he either knew or heard of by their proper Names and Sir-Names and place of their Residence and from whom he received the foresaid Commission, and who were present at the delivery of the same to him, and what a person Mr. *James Renwick* is who subscribes as Clerk to the said Commission, and if that was his own true or only a borrowed Name: And if the same was borrowed that he would declare what his true Name is, and where his place of Residence was, and if he knows what is become of him since, or where he now is, and to Interrogate him after the same manner in relation to *Michael Sheil's*.

4. If the said General Convention was not composed of Persons sent from particular Districts within this Kingdom and how many such Districts there were and who were the leading Persons within these particular Districts, and what sort of Persons they were who were Commissionate from these reserved Districts to the pretended General Convention. And what farther he knows in Relation to the Government and management of Affairs within these particular Districts.

5. To

5. To interrogate the said *Alexander Gordon* what Persons he knew either in *Scotland England Ireland* or in the United Provinces of the Netherlands that did hold Correspondence with the said pretended Convention General in order to their acting and consulting of their Affairs or concerting of Measures and Methods to be taken in the Prosecution of their purposes and designs, &c.

Interrogators to be put to the said Alexander Gordon in Relation to the late Horrid Conspiracy.

Imprimis, That the said *Alexander Gordon* would ingeniously declare the true and Genuine meaning and sense of that Letter written to him by *Jo. N.* from *London*, and would give a full and satisfactory Account thereof to the Lords of the Committee such as may satisfie rational and knowing Men conform to the meaning of the writer, who was his Correspondent, and who would never have writ to him in Riddles and Mysteries, seeing by the Letter it appears that he was informing *Alexander Gordon* with the State of their Affairs, and with the measures and resolutions they had already taken. And therefore to interrogate him who this Correspondent was who subscribes *Jo. N.* and where he resided, and what was his Trade and Occupation, and with whom else he the said *Alexander* did know him to keep correspondence, and how he became to be acquainted with him, and of that way and manner of writing under the Metaphor of Trade and Commerce, &c. Had not been conceived and agreed to betwixt the said *Alexander* and the said *Jo. N.* and their party before thereby to vail and disguise their Rebellious contrivances, and who were present at the contriving of such a Metaphorical way of Writing besides the said *Alexander* and *Jo. N.* and if these and the like Methods were not a common Rule and practise

Practise of these Barbarous and execrable Conspirators for
disguising of their Horrid and Bloody designs against
the Person of his Sacred Majesty and Royal Brother,
and for rising in Arms against his Majesty and his Go-
vernment.

2. What he knows in Relation to the said Horrid Con-
spiracy against His Majesties Person , and the Person of his
Royal Brother, or of rising in Arms against his Majesty and
Government , and who were accessory to the said Horrid
Designs either in *Scotland England Ireland* or any where
abroad whither in the United Provinces of the Netherlands
or else where, and that he would give an account of them
in so far as he knows by their Names Sir-Names and Places
of Residence, and such other designs as he knew them by,
and likeways that he would give an Account of the parti-
cular Designs Methods and Contrivances treated upon and
concerted for the rising in Arms against the King and
Government either in *Scotland England or Ireland*, and by
what Persons the said Treaties and Designs were carried on,
as to all which he would give a particular and distinct ac-
count to the Lords of the Committee.

3. To interrogate him anent the other Letter written to
him under the Name of Mr. Pringle and what was the
true meaning thereof and by whom the same was written,
and if the Trade therein specified do not relate to the con-
dition of the Fanatick and disaffected Party , and what
other import the said Letter does bear, and from what
place of the World the same came.

A Copy of the Examination of Alexander Gordon late of Earlstoun.

Edinburgh, 25th of September 1683.

The Earl of Linlithgow.

Lord Livingston.

Lord President of Session.

Lord Collintoun.

Lord Castlehill.

Justices,

The Lord Pitmedden.

The Lord Harcass.

The Earl of Linlithgow elected President.

To the first Interrogator answers, That the first time he met with that pretended Convention was near the Inner-Kirk of Kyle in the Fields about two years ago; and there were there about fourscore persons or thereby; and that he was brought there from his own House by one Jo. Nisbet, whom the Declarant knows not further than that he is a West Country-man about Glasgow; and that Jo. Nisbet is another Jo. Nisbet that wrote a Letter to him to Holland under the notion of Trade, relating to the Rising and Rebellion in England. And farther, That about a year and an

an half ago he met with another Convention consisting of fourscore persons or thereby in the Fields within five Miles of the former place near *Inner-Kirk*, and that very few of them had Swords; to which Meeting he was advertised to come by a Letter sent to his House subscribed by Mr. *James Kennick* who is Clerk to the Convention and heard of no Ministers being amongst them at either of these times and says there were people there from all the Districts in the several Shires of the Kingdom: which Districts he was informed were fourscore; and that he knew none of the persons in either of these Meetings except Mr. *James Kennick* the Clerk, the said *Jo. Nisbet* who came from a District besides *Glasgow*, and *William* and *James Stewart* who came out of *Galloway*, and *Robert Speir* who came from the *Lothians*, and one *Forrest* who came from the Upperward of *Cluyd*, and that at these general Meetings they produced their Commissions from the several Districts to the Clerk that it might appear that they were commissionate to get relief for the distrest in their bounds, that the Business of the Convention was to provide for those amongst them were in want and for their own security against the dangers they were in, being denounced Fugitives from the Laws and in hazard to be catcht by the Governors; and that he heard nothing treated or spoke amongst them as to rising in Arms, nor knows of any Correspondence these of the Convention had with any in *Ireland*; and as to *England* he supposes there was a Correspondence there, but knows not these that managed it, except the said *Jo. Nisbet*, he having shewn the Declarant a Letter he had from *Michael Sheills* one of the Clerks of the Convention, which he saw in the end of *March* or beginning of *April* last.

To the second Interrogator, the Reason why he accepted of the Commission produced, declares, He accepted it upon the account to see if there could be a way found for the distrest Brethren to go abroad, or to have something from abroad to maintain them there.

To the third Interrogator declares, He remembers no more persons were present but these condescended upon in
the

the first Interrogator, which he says was occasioned by his being so long abroad; and although upon seeing their faces he might know several of them, yet knows not their Names, nor the places of their Residence.

To the fourth declares, The said general Conventions were composed of persons sent from the several Districts, of which there were as he heard about fourscore in number, in which fourscore Districts he was told there would have been six or seven thousand Men, but knows not of any Gentlemen or leading Men amongst them. As to the Commission it was sent him to Newcastle by a common Receiver whom he knows not, directed to him at his Lodging at the Sign of the Vine in the Gateside in Newcastle, his Landlords Name being George Marshal a publick Inn-keeper, and address to him under the Name of La Gravell, being the Name he went by, and that the same was under a Cover of James Kennick their Clerk who subscribed it.

To the last Interrogator repeats his Answer made to the first Interrogator, and knows no further.

Being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conspiracy in England, declares, That the first time he heard of any Design of rising in Arms was at the time when the Competition was anent the Sheriffs at Midsummer was a year, and then he heard the Duke of Monmouth was to Head the Rebels; and this he had from Jo. Nisbet, and one Mr. Murray a Scotch-man then at London; and declares, That in January last the Declarant being in Holland he heard by general report that the late Earl of Argyle was to raise some thousand Highlanders to assist the Rebels in England by making a diversion and was to get a Sum of Money for that effect; and that in March last he having received a Letter from Jo. Nisbet in Holland, he came over to London, where he met with the said Nisbet and Murray, who told the Declarant they designed to rise presently in England and to Rendezvous in Six or Seven places at one time, particularly at Coventry and London, and that they computed several Thousands in York-shire who

who were to joyn with them. That *Murray* defir'd the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late *Lord Russel* and *Grey* and the *Lord Wharton* (but of *Wharton* they said they were not very sure of his being a feareful Man) and with *Mr. Ferguson* and spoke of several old Officers of *Cromwells* that were to be there, but the Declarant not being for the present Rising shann'd to meet with these Persons or any of them, and both *Nisbet* and *Murray* told the Declarant that *Sir John Coakran* was with them and heard from these Two Persons that both the *Cessnocks* were concerned in that Busines. As to the Letter written by *Jo. N.* of the 20th of *March* and directed for the Declarant at *Rotterdam* Declares that *Jo. Nisbet* sent the said Letter, and that under the Metaphor of Trade throughout the whole Letter is meant the design of Rising in Arms and a Rebellion, and that by the Words (*dispatching the old rotten stuff*) is meant either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them or destroying the Government both Civil and Ecclesiastick, which last the Declarant supposes rather to be the Words, and that by the Factors are meant their Emissaries for carrying off the Rebellion; and for that strange thing that was to fall out that Week or the next the Declarant thinks is meant the sudden Muster of the Rebels. In the close of the Letter which says *things are full as high as I tell you*, is meant that the Rebellion was instantly to break out, and having met with *Jo. Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland*, the said *Nisbet* explained to him that the sense of the said Letter was as is abovesaid.

As to a Letter direct to the Declarant under the Name of *Pringle* of the 2d of *May 1683*, declares, That the Name of the subscriber which is blotted out was so blotted before it came to his Hand, but by the Contents of it he knows it's from one *Rob. Johnston* a Tenant or Vassal to the *Lord Grey* on the border, and that the *Traders* and *Trading* there spoke of is the designed Rebellion, and that the said *Robert Johnston* offered to come to *Scotland* with the Declarant to have seen some of our disaffected People here, and to have met with them. And that *A.T.* mentioned in the said Letter, which the Letter says *laboured to undervalue the disaffected party in Scotland*, which he calls *your Goods,*

Goods, is the Name of *Andrew Young* who stays about *Newcastle* whom he supposes to be a suspect Person because he was feared that Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him. And that he supposes the way that that Letter came to his Hand was from some Persons that were at a Meeting at *Midsummer* about that time, where was present several of those people that had Commission from the several Districts, but that he himself was not at that Meeting.

Examination of Mr. Steil and Andrew Oliver anent Mr. Aaron Smith's coming to Scotland and his going to Sir Jo. Cockran's House at Ochiltree. Edinburgh 11th of December, 1683.

MR. Thomas *Steil* in *Fedwart-Forest* declares, That in February last, an English Gentleman coming to *Fedwart* being recommended to the Declarant by one *David Sheriff Stabler* in *Newcastle*, only that he might direct him to *Ochiltree*, spoke to him of *Carolina Business* anent which he was to transact with *Sir John Cockran*: and that the Declarant got him one *Andrew Oliver* in *Fedwart-Forest* for hire to be his guide to *Douglas*, and that the said *Oliver* went with him from that to *Sir John Cockran's*, and declares he knew not his name and had no knowledge of him; but that he was called when he was at *Fedwart*, *Clerk*, but afterwards heard he was called *Smith*.

Andrew Oliver in *Bairwick Tenant* to the Marquis of *Douglas* being Examined declares, A little before *Seck-time* last the Declarant met with *Mr. Thomas Steil* at *Linalie* the Marquis's House, of purpose to bring home his Wife from *Douglas*

Douglas to Jedburgh-Forest, and the Declarant being upon his way and coming to Provost *Ainslie's* House in Jedburgh, and there being a Stranger there an English Man ready to take Horse to go to the West, the said Mr. *Thomas Steil* having told the Deponent there was a Stranger who knew not the way, and would be desirous of his company, and the Deponent having called for the Stranger in the House, he and he took Horse together and rode to Peebles that night and the next day came to Douglas, and the Stranger upon the way told his name was *Samuel Clerk*, which he thinks was the next day after they came from Jedburgh; and the next day the Stranger not being able to get a Guide, to convey him to Ochiltree, at the desire of Mr. *Thomas Steil's* Wife did go along with him from Douglas to Ochiltree, and the Stranger went into the House of Ochiltree to call for the Laird; the Deponent not having gone in with him, where he staid about one quarter of an Hour and came back to a House in the Town where the Deponent was to Lodge. That the Deponent heard from the Stranger that his Business with the Laird of Ochiltree was concerning *Carolina* Business, and of their design to send Families there in the Spring to Plant, and that he commended the Country.

And. Oliver.

Jo. Edenburgs:

L *Eden-*

Edenburgh , Sederunt and Journals of
Council, 20 of Dec. 1683.

Mr. Thomas Steil Chamberlain to the Marquis of Douglas, being Prisoner as alledged, Entertaining and Corresponding with Aaron Smith when he was in Scotland, and providing him a Guide to Sir John Cockran's House of Ochiltree, who being Examin'd with the said Guide, and all that appears is, That the said Aaron Smith, under the name of Clark, was Recommended by one David Sheriff, Innkeeper and Stabler of Newcastle, to Steil, as being his Acquaintance when he came to Jedburgh, to help him to one that should guide him the way being a Stranger, without any suspicion or knowledge of his being a person guilty of any Crime or evil Design. The Lords upon consideration of the Bill appoint a Letter to be written to the Secretaries to cause Examine Aaron Smith upon the time of his coming to Jedburgh, and what past betwixt him and Steil and any other Interrogator proper, seeing it's said that the said Aaron Smith denied he was ever in Scotland ; and that another Letter be written to the Mayor of Newcastle to Examine the Innkeeper ; and in the mean time allows Steil to be liberat on Caution to appear when called, under the penalty of 2000 Marks ; and that he shall not go off the Country without Licence, to prevent any practicing with the Innkeeper.

Alexander Gordon of Earlston, his Deposition before a Committee of His Majesties Privy Council, and two of the Justices. Edengburgh the 25th of September, 1683.

Alexander Gordon being further interrogate upon the Interrogators given in anent the Conspiracy in England, declares, That the first time he heard of any Design of RISING in Arms, was at the time when the competition was anent the Sheriffs at Midsummer was a year, and then he heard the Duke of Monmouth was to head the Rebels; and this he had from John Nisbet, and one Mr. Murray a Scotch-man then at London, and declares, That in January last the Declarant being in Holland, he heard by general report that the late Earl of Argyle was to raise some thousands of Highlanders to assist the Rebels in England by making a diversion, and was to get a sum of Money for that effect; and that in March last he having received a Letter in Holland from John Nisbet then in London, he came over to London, where he met with the said Nisbet and Murray, who told the Declarant, they designed to rise presently in England, and to Rendezvous in six or seven places at one time, particularly at Coventry and London; and that they computed several thousands in Yorkshire who were to joyn with them; That Murray desired the Declarant to go along with him to meet with the late Lords Russel and Grey, and the Lord Wharton, (but of Wharton they said they were not very sure, being a fearful man) and with Mr. Ferguson, and spoke of several old Officers of Cromwells that were to be there, but the Declarant not being for the present Rising, shunned to meet with these persons, or any of them; and both Nisbet and Murray told the Declarant, that Sir John Cockran was with them, and heard from these two persons, that both the Cessnocks were concerned in that Business. As to the Letter written by Jno. N. of the 20th of March, and directed for the Declarant at Rotterdam, declares that

John Nisbet wrote the said Letter, and that under the Metaphor of *Trade* throughout the whole Letter, is meanted the design of Rising in Arms and a Rebellion; and that by the words *Dispatching the old rotten stuff*, is meanted either the excluding the Sectaries from joyning with them, or destroying the Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, which last the Declarant supposes rather to be the meaning of the words; and that by the *Factors* are meanted their *Emissaries* for carrying on the Rebellion; And for that strange thing that was to fall out that Week or the next, the Declarant thinks is meanted the sudden muster of the Rebels; In the close of the Letter which says, *Things are full as high as I tell you*, is meanted that the Rebellion was instantly to break out; And having met with *John Nisbet* after his coming from *Holland*, the said *Nisbet* explained to him that the Sence of the said Letter was as is abovesaid.

As to the little Letter directed to the Declarant under the name of *Pringle*, of the second of *May, 1682*, declares that the name of the Subscriber, which is blotted out, was so blotted before it came to his hand; but by the Contents of it, he knows it is from one *Robert Johnstoun*, a Tenant or Vassal to the Lord *Grev* on the Border; and that the *Traders* and *Trading* there spoke of, is the designed Rebellion; and that the said *Robert Johnstoun* offered to come into *Scotland* with the Declarant, to have seen some of our disaffected people here, and to have met with them; and that *A.Y.* mentioned in the said Letter, which the Letter says *laboured to undervalue the disaffected party in Scotland*, which he calls *your Goods*, is the name of *Andrew Young*, who stays about *Newcastle*, whom he supposes to be a suspected person, because he was afraid Colonel *Struthers* would apprehend him: And that he supposes the way that that Letter came to his hand, was from some person that was at a Meeting at *Treeds-Moor* about that time, where were present several of these people that had Commission from the several Districts, but he himself was not at that Meeting. *Sic subscrifitur.*

Linlithgow I.P.C.

Alex. Gordon.

Here

Here follows the Letter Signed Jo. N.
which was found upon Earlstoun.

S I R,

ON Saturday last I had the occasion of seeing a Letter from you, directed for Mrs. Gaunt, in whose absence Mrs. Ward had received it, at the reading of which I was not a little troubled, considering my full Resolutions signified to you in my last; for effectuating of which I had spoke for Passage and taken my farewell of Mother Gaunt, she going into the Country: And that very Week I was set upon by that Gentleman with whom I stay, and Jo. Johnstoun with some others to stay but a Month, and if that did not accomplish somewhat in hand to help Trading, then I should be no longer detained. After I was prevailed to retract so far, I ordered Jo. who had time at command, to give you an ample account of matters; and withal Jo. was desired by our Friends from Scotland to stand here in my place, the like engagements of Secrecy, &c. being taken, and thereupon I ordered him to shew you the grounds of my staying, and to desire if you inclined to cross the Water, to come this way, but since many are the confused, yea troubled thoughts that have possessed me for yielding, concerning which, as also my yielding to it, take the subsequent account.

In my last, or it precedent to it, I shewed you that Trading was very low here, and many breaking, which has made the Merchants (such as they are) to think that desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures: and while they have some Stock, it will be better to venture out, than to keep Shop and sit still till all be gone; and then they shall not be able to act, but let all go: Which resolution I thought a thing not to confide in, seeing the most of them are Fife-side Merchants, and love not to venture where Storms are any thing apparent. But about my departing they shewed the Model of Affairs in such order, that I see venture they must, and venture they will; whereupon first demanded how our Trade would be carried on. Answer,

They knew well what Goods had proved most prejudicial to the Trade, and therefore they thought to insist upon Negatives, in which whatever I propos'd is assent'd to, as I find; and thus they thought best to still some Criticks in the Trade: And by this means first to endeavour the dispatching the old rotten Stuff before they order what to bring home next. This lookt somewhat strange to me, but when I consider all circumstances, I think they for themselves do best in it: For our Merchants I made account only to have had some Stock for to set the broken ones up again, and so bid them here farewell, and they to try their way and we ours. Since they think fit that some of these whom we have found (as you will say when you hear them named) treacherous dealers in our Trade, consulted, and accordingly have done: Whereupon I fear, or rather hope that our Merchants, though broke, will rather desire to live a while longer as they are, than joyn with such, &c. to advance the Trade; unless surer grounds of their fidelity be gotten, than is, or can be expected, and this is the bottom of all my sorrow. But to proceed, I find (if all hold that is intended) that they think it is almost at a point to set forward, if they had their Factors home, who are gone to try how the Country will like such Goods, as they are for, or against the making sale of. Friends, I mean Merchants, wrote to me, that after I had spoken to you, possibly you might come this way, the better thereby to advise them what to do in this case, for I have signified somewhat of it to them, but not so far as this: because I thought to have seen you long e'r this time. But I hope you will not misconstrue of my staying, seeing in it I designed nothing but advancement of our Trade; but once this week these Factors sent for will be here, and then matters will in instanti, either off or one, break, or go thorow. Wherefore in reference to Friends, I desire you will advise me what to do, if you cannot, or think it not convenient to come here; if you do, let a Letter precede; and if any strange thing fall out this * Week or the next I will again post it towards you; I think when this and the next Week is gone (and no News comes from you) that I shall set forward, being still so ready, as that in Twelve hours I can bid adieu: The Whiggs are very low as well in City as in the Suburbs, all Meetings being every Sunday beset with Constables to keep them out, and what they get is stollen, either

* Nota,
That this
week His
Majesty
was expect-
ed from
Newmar-
ket, but
came eight
days sooner
by reason of
the Fire.
either

either at Evening or Morning. This Winter many of the great Bankers and Goldsmiths in Lombard-street are broken and gone: The Bantam Factory in the Indies is taken by the Dutch. Confusion, Confusion in Town and Country, such as you never saw. Mrs. Ward and several others desire to be remembred to you. My endeared Respects to your self and B. with the young men arrived. Thus I have writ in short, and in hast, expecting a Line with as great hast as you see is needful, for Matters are full as high as I tell you. Farewel.

From your Friend and Servant, while

London, March 20
1683.

Jo. N.

Postscript, Be sure that you direct not for Bednal-green; but for me at Mr. Mead's in Stepney near London.

A Letter as it was written with *Argyle's* own Hand, which was addressed to Major *Holmes*, and marked Number 3.
June 21.

Though I cannot by this Post send you a full account of your Affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr. Bs. help; the whole account amounted to several Pages; but I only give you one to total, as sufficient.

I gone so I and refuse object first you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 3337-59424244375769 Mony 36 47575657 of and to 692-24736535657 and they have is at be that no some their 2345535958, &c. 50000 4548464758 part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which Birch that cannot time are out upon an 324753235657 to 5644256594858444367 projected meat very may little done the been Purse I to shall my lifts I to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week Brown I of things said some the now their my head guard mention 324344675748465257 things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order resolve and to reckon all and undertake honest or was far be Shooes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by force it tho so how the credit for time Birch and some greatest them concerned will for and to and 404843 station good may only the if more will if should expect tollerably standing and by and necessar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge so necessar I the that so affairs have busines very I possible of I send here against my till what little upon know not which mony 25405748575840524244 I ser-vice

vice any what shall resolve thee at did least effectually thought and far if busines reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon mony by first sum if then Bills 26 4356-40465359 52 5769455356424457 well that 38414440-5851595058458594357 need trouble somthing very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho the once for and 575942 4244575735 will 4057 5748575840524244 and to mony could foolish Brown many the not to Gods Brand besides stay Job seat yet to proposed 3222405651-57 a deal the things as all once less any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the such with you I other I I for considerabe be particular add I are of left I but all have it Enemies to cannot to Friends made part I writ wish may be service Mr. an whole there consider persons it when knowing any and payments to I it low shall little little meaning Intelligence thing out had which Tents usual whole with 673151485048584840 and by the more of if but the that bledding raise a 54565358445758405258 4753565-744 can Virgins supply to call 485650403243 not keep imaginable tho them 4853485244 standing many number 25 4753565733 only at standing a 51595058485859-43 first considerabe with more can them Countrey 425-351514052434443 in and there 40565157 it was Weeks half I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a within what requisite not Sum truly this grounds to say Mr. thing not know they as hath the grounds occasioned I they both do is Red only let I distance in I half in I the little would 4057485758405242 first shall number very 1000 and the consider small confes them work proposed pleased cannot are 2000 Brand it 544453545044 the be 40565-157 then be 4044440564852464604584744564443 little 4553564244575758445650485244 have the but it will 455356574457 and as we yet together only it for buy it consider imploy better interest small so to some 47535657 a future the to total the absolute of and designed and Waggons are but of proposed or and because what add as out meddle touch of I knowing Merchant there it that what is 404540485644405844515458 Red I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in considerabe put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have will is for 5753-

504348535956 shall necessars the or of if is is they very incident for the dayly not Cloaths, necessar to these the necessar best of the 60405639 events little to hope 564-4564457 many Sum were for so in we them more will in and it had any many yet be may all 514850485-84840 and will it without and not but more got triple on is very 45535959 now be God and but is what a if odds it as near named not brush of not less power propos'd an of thought my and go you in or resolved so I intend hear them our 45564844524357 to neither to will much till any the know on in proposition could what other I of could be the and be but that easie were I all differ was absolutely soon more to sent above at well right foot their together Provisions the suddenly that 404258485352 will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get *Brand* not 40565157 no should the much their not and men the are be while do to advantage the husbanding for number is be for 5747534457 only to whole Provisions Charges good can to I I my meddle Mony as freely for the and be estates do project all after see be I it such you all 47535657 the yet I distance to dare them direction Gods hands in on not prevent and have some help may from a a be pray very II Necessars and that to a occasion prices the submit they but not own had made be do men some of Sum be necessar 47535657 such bestowed nothing they one it Mony of *Brand* not to sent engaged whole with a concerned own Mony next prove Mony far then but some impossible first be be most to of 4744564858535657 20000 to up do tho there done case and yet number without hard appointed left 1200 like give will after necessar proposed as should leave hard had number I peremptor I 67334-7535657 stood possibly those thought juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have. *Adieu*

G <i>l.</i>	S <i>t.</i>
The total Sum is	128— 8.

which will be payed to you by Mr. B.

Fol low s

Follows in plain Writing on the back of
the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were
lost, I believe he hath the Blew one; we have re-
ceived his Letter: I have nothing more to say to
him at present; I hope he knows how to write to
me, and understands my Address, and to instruct
you; if he do not, I have lost Six ours work,
Adieu.

The

The Decypher of the said Letter as it was
done in *England*.

June 21.

Sir,

Though I cannot by this Post send you a full account of your Affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what Bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr. B's help; the whole account amounted to several Pages; but I only give you one to total as sufficient.

I gone so I and refuse object first you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 33 success 69 Mony 36 Horse of and to 69 2 H 36 orse and they have is at be that no some there 23 Foot etc. 50000 fight part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which Birch that cannot time are out upon an 32 Ho 23 rfe to recruited projected Meat very may little done the been purse I to shall my lists 1 to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week Brown I of things said some the now there my Head guard mention 32 de 67 signs things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order reslove and to reckoning all and undertake honest or was far be Shoes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by force it tho so how the credit for time Birch and some greatest them concerned will for and to and aid station good may only the if more will if should expect tollerably standing and by and necessar the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge so necessar I the that so affairs have business very I possible of I send hear-against my till what little upon know not which Mony 25 Assistance I service any what shall resolve the at did least effectually thought

dna

and far if busines reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon Mony by first Sum if then Bills 20 Dragoons 69 Forces well that 38 beat Multitudes need trouble something very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho the once for and success 35 will assistance and to Mony could foolish Brown many the not to Gods Brand besides stay Job seat yet to proposed 32 22 Arms a deal the things as all once less any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the such with you I other I I for considerable be particular add I are of left I but all have it Enemies to cannot to an account to Friends made part I write with may be service Mr. an whole there consider persons it when knowing any and payment to I it low shall little little meaning intelligence thing out had which Tents usual whole with 67 31 Militia and by the more of it but the that blessing raise a Protestant Horse can Virgins supply to call Ireland not keep imaginable tho them joyn standing many number Horse onely at standing a multitude first considerable with more can them Countrey commanded in and there Arms it was Weeks half I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a within what requisite not sum truly this grounds to say Mr. thing nor know they as hath the grounds occasioned I they both do is Red only let I distance in I half in I the little would assistance first shall number very 1000 and the consider small confess then work proposed please cannot are 2000 Brand it people the be Arms them be appearing gathered little Forces Sperling have the but it will Forces and as we yet together only it for buy it consider employ better interest small so to some Horse a future the to total the absolute of and design'd and Waggons are but of proposed or and because what add as out meddle touch I knowing Merchant there is that what is affair attempt Red I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in considerable put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have will is for Souldier shall necessars the or of if is is they very incident for the daily not Cloathes necessar to their the necessar best of the War 39 events little to hope repre/s many sum were for so in we them more will in and it had any many yet be may all Militia and will it without and not but more got triple on is very Foot now be God and but is what a if odds it as near

near named not Brush or not les power proposed an of thought my and go you in or resolved so I intend hear them our friends to neither to will much till any the know on in proposition could what other I of could be the and be but that easie were I all differ was absolutely soon more to sent above at well right Foot their together provisions the suddenly that *action* will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get *Brand* not *Arms* no should the much there not and Men the are be while do to advantage the Husbonding for number is be for *Shoes* only to whole provisions charges good can I I my meddle Mony as freely for the an be Estates do project all after see be I it such you all *Horse* the yet I distance to dar them direction Gods hands in on not prevent and have some help may from a a be pray very I I necessars and that to a occasion prices the submit they but not own had made be do men some of sum be necessar *Horse* such bestowed nothing they one it Mony of *Brand* not to sent engaged whole with a concerned own Mony next prove Mony far then but some impossible first be be most to of *Heretors* 20000 to up do tho there done case and yet number without hard appointed least 1200 like give will after necessar proposed as should leave hard had number I peremptor I 67 33 *Horse* stood possibly those thought Juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have. *Adieu.*

Gil. St.

The total Sum is 128—8
which will be paid to you
by Mr. B.

Written in plain sence on the back of the Letter.

I have found two of the Books I wrote to Mr. B. were lost, I believe he hath the Blew one: we have received his Letter. I have nothing more to say to him at present: I hope he knows how to write to me, and understands my Address, and to instruct you, if he do not I have lost six hours work. *Adieu.*

The

*The Copy of the said Letter as it was given
in by Mr. Spence, according to the plain
Sense thereof, without the Preface or
Postscript, being set down already with
the Cypher and Decypher.*

I know not the Grounds our Friends have gone upon which hath occasioned them to offer so little Money as I hear, neither know I what assistance they intend to give; and till I know both I will neither refuse my service, nor do so much as object against any thing is resolved, *Car-
ved, till I first hear what Mr. * Red, or any other you stares.
send, shall say; only in the mean time I resolve to let you know as much of the Grounds I go on, as is possible at this distance, and in this way. I did truly in my Proposition mention the very least Sum I thought could do our Business effectually, not half of what I would have thought requisite in an other Juncture of Affairs; and what I proposed I thought altogether so far within the power of those concerned, that if a little less could*possibly do the Business, it would not be stood upon: I reckoned the assistance of the Horse absolutely necessary for the first Brush, and I do so still: I shall not be peremptory to urge the precise number named, but I do think there needs very near that number effectually; and I think a 1000 as easie had as 8 or 600, and it were hard that it stuck at the odds: I leave it to you to consider if all should be hazarded, upon so small a differ. As to the Money I confess what was proposed is more by half than is absolutely necessary at the first weeks work, but soon after all the Sum was proposed, and more will be necessary, if it please God to give success, and then Arms cannot be sent like Money by Bills: There are now above 1200 Horse and Dragoons, and 2000 Foot at least of standing Forces in \pm Brand very well appointed and to- \pm Scotland
lerably well commanded, it is right hard to expect that Countrey

Country people on foot, without Horse, should beat them the triple their number; and if multitudes can be got together, yet they will need more Arms, more Provision, and have more trouble with them: But the case is, if something considerable be not suddenly done at the very first appearing, and that there be only a multitude gathered without action, though that may frighten a little, it will do no good, the standing Forces will take up some station, probably at *Stirling*, and will to their aid not only have the Militia of Twenty thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse, but all the Heretors, &c. to the number it may be of Fifty thousand; and though many will be unwilling to fight for the standing Forces, yet the most part will once joyn, and many will be as concerned for them, as any can be against them: and though we had at first the greatest success imaginable, yet it is impossible but some will keep together, and get some concurrence and assistance,

* *Scotland*. not only in * *Brand* but from * *Birch*, and *Ireland*; it will
† *England*. not then be time to call for more Arms, far less for

Mony to buy them, no Mony nor Credit could supply it, we should prove like the Foolish Virgins:

* Dissent-ing Lords. Consider in the next place how * *Brown* can employ so much Mony, and so many Horse, better for their own interest, tho the Protestant Interest were not concerned; is it not a small Summ, and a small Force, to raise so many Men with, and by Gods blessing to repress the whole

* *Scotland*. Power of * *Brand*, that some hope are engaged against us, besides the Horse to be sent, need possibly stay but a little while to do a Job, if future events do not bring the seat of the War to *Brand*, which is yet more to the advantage

* *England*. of * *Birch*, as to the total of the Mony that was propos'd by the best Husbanding it, cannot purchase Arms, and absolute necessaries for one time, for a Militia of the number they are to deal with, and there is nothing out of the whole design'd to be bestowed upon many things usual, and necessary for such an Undertaking, as Tents, Waggons, Cloaths, Shooes, Horse, Horse-shooes; all which are not only necessary to be once had, but daily to be recruited, far less out of the whole Summ projected, was any thing proposed for Provisions of Meat or Drink, Intelligence, or incident Charges; some very Honest well-meaning, and very good Men, may undertake on little be-

because they can do little , and know little what is to be done. All I shall add is, I made the Reckoning as low as if I had been to pay it out of my own Purse ; and whether I meddle or medle not , I resolve never to touch the Mony , but to order the payment of Necessaries, as they shall be received ; and I shall freely submit my self to any knowing Soldier for the Lists , and any knowing Merchant for the Prices I have calculated, when there is an occasion to confer about it, it will be a great encouragement to persons that have Estates to venture, and that consider what they do, that they know that there is a project, and prospect of the whole Affair, and all Necessaries provided for such an attempt : If after I have spoke with Mr. ♦ Red, I see I can do you Service, I will be very † Carstairs. willing ; if I be not able , I pray God some other may ; but before it be given over, I wish I had such a conference as I writ of to you a Week ago, for I expect not all from * Brown, some considerable part of the Horse may I hope ^{* Differing} Lords. be made up by the help of your particular friends. I have yet some things to add, to enforce all I have said, which I cannot at this distance ; and some things are to be done to prevent the designs of Enemies, that I dare not now mention, lest it should put them on their Guard , I have a considerable direction in my head, but all is in Gods hands.

The manner of Decyphering is explain'd more at large in another Book , called, An Account of Discoveries made in Scotland, &c.

M

Part

Part of William Spence his Deposition.

At the Castle of Edinburgh, the 19th. of August, 1684.

M R. William Spence, of the age of 33 Years, or there by, not Married, Solemnly Sworn, Depones, That in the Paper Subscribed by him; the Letter dated 21 June, and the other without date, marked A, are written plain, and in the true Sense, so far as his knowledge reaches, and that he had no Key to open the Letters with, but the Alphabetical Cypher: That by the 128 Gilders, 8 Stivers, mentioned in the end of the long Letter, he understands that it is the Key thereof; and by the payment of the same, he understands the way of using it. That he does truly believe there was an Insurrection intended, within these Two Years; and as for what is to come, he cannot tell what the People abroad may be doing: That he had often heard of Designs and Associations; but that they were directly intended to hinder the Duke his Succession to the Crown, he cannot say: For all that he understood was pretended for the Ground of any designs of Arms, was the defence of the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of the Kingdom; and if against the Duke his Succession only, in so far as that might be prejudicial to these; and that he thinks upon the King's death Troubles may probably arise: That Mr. Wist, to whom the Letters were directed, was not one of that name but Major Holms, to the best of his knowledge: And this is the Truth as he shall answer to God. *Sic subscrbitur,*

W. Spence.

The

The Information of Robert Smith, formerly of the Parish of Dunscore, in the Sheriffdom of Dumfreis, in the Kingdom of Scotland.

AT all the Conventicles for near Two years before the Rebellion in the year 1679. There were great Contributions of Money (which were chearfully given) under the pretence of a Subfiftance for their Ministers, and the Poor of their Perfwafion (the only design that was known to the meancr fort of People) but the greatest part of the Mony was employ'd for Arms and Ammunition for a General Rising: In order whereunto the Phanaticks in the Months of April, May, and June, 1679. were preparing themſelves, by keeping ſeveral great Field Conventicles (both in the West and South) in which were conſiderable numbers of Armed Men. And although they were generally very fond and forward to put their design in Execution; yet it was haſtned a Month ſooner than was intended, by the Skirmiſh that happened about the middle of June within two miles of Lowdon-hill, between a Party of His Majefties Forces under the Command of Captain (now Colonel) Graham of Claverhouſe, and a ſtrong Field-Conventicle, in which I was my ſelf with a Party of a Troop of Horse (levyed in Nithſdale in the end of May, and beginning of June) whereof I was Cornet, under Mr. William Ferguson of Caitlock Captain, and John Gibson of Auchincchein Lieutenant. The ſame Night after that Skirmiſh, I was at the Earl of Lowdon's Houſe with Robert Hamilton, John Balfour, and David Haxton (both Murderers of the late Arch-Biſhop of Saint Andrews) John Ker in Mineboie, and ſeveral others, in number about Twenty Seven Horse. The Earl himſelf was in the Houſe, and I ſaw him paſs into the Garden; but I did not perceive that he came into our Company, though I have reaſon to believe that Robert Hamilton was with his Lord-
ship

ship and his Lady in some of the Chambers, because I saw him leaving us all of his Company in the great Hall, and going into the private Rooms, where I am sure was my Lady, as I do not doubt but my Lord was also, for it was from thence that I saw him pass into the Garden : But my Lady did publickly that Night Entertain and Lodge all the Company. The next Morning at Four of the Clock we came from that Earls House, and made all the haste we could to *Hamilton*, in order to joyn the Body that we had parted with the day before ; and the next day we all Marched to *Glasgow*, where (the Morning after) we were beaten by some Troops and Companies of the King's Forces, and thereupon returned to *Hamilton*. From thence I went in Company of Mr. *David Williamson* (who was a Preacher and a Captain) with Sixscore Horse to the Shire of *Galloway*, where we met and joyned Six Troops of Horse and about as many Companies of Foot that were Levyed in that Country and *Nithsdale* for our assistance. Thereafter we went into *Dumfries* where we stayed a night, and had notice of the King's Forces coming to the *Kirk of Shots* ; whereupon we march'd with all possible Diligence to joyn the rest of the Rebels at *Hamilton* ; seizing all the Arms and Horses that we could find by the way, especially at *Drumlanrig*, *Thorn-hill*, *Sanebar*, *Cumnock*, *Cefnock*, *Newmills* and *Strewin* ; but at *Cefnock* we received Four hundred Lances, which we were told were the free and voluntary Gift of Sir *Hugh Campbell*, the Father, and Sir *George*, the Son. There was one passage in this March, which I cannot forbear to relate, viz. That as we were passing by the old Castle of *Trewe* (where His late Majesty of blessed Memory had a Garrison, in the beginning of the unhappy Troubles of His Reign (Old *Gordon of Eastron*, who in few days after was killed at *Bothwell-Bridge*) in my hearing spoke to the Officers that were about him as followeth, Gentlemen, *I was the Man that Commanded the Party which took this Castle from the late King, who had in it about 200 of the Name of Maxwell, of whom the greatest part being Papists we put them all to the Sword, and demolish'd the Castle; as you see it: And now (though an Old Man) I take up Arms against the Son, whom I hope to see go the same way as his Father went: For we can never put trust in a Covenant Breaker; So Gentlemen*

tlemen, your cause is good, ye need not fear to Fight against a凶狠 King.

Upon Saturday the 21st. of June, 1679. the main body of the Rebels came to Hamilton, and lay encamped betwixt that place and Bothwel-Bridge until Sunday the 29th. when we were defeated by the King's Forces; During which time there came to our Camp great store of Provisions and Arms from Glasgow, Hamilton, Lanrick, Lefmaburg, Newmills, and several other places in Clidffdale, and the parts adjacent; but I do not know the particular Persons from whom they were sent, save only what I have said concerning our receiving the 400 Lances at Cefnock: But about a week before our coming to that place, as we were passing by the Earl of Galloway's House of Garlis, his Brother the Laird of Rymstone came to see some of the Gentlemen that were of our number, and accompany'd us Ten or Twelve miles, returning afterwards to his House; but before his going he gave Assurance that both his Brother, the Earl of Galloway, the Lord Kenmore and himself were our Friends: And I did hear him giving great Incouragement to the meaner sort of People that were in Arms with us, by bidding them to be Chearful and Couragious; for he did assure them that they had very good Friends in the Country; and we did believe that within few days thereafter, as well the Earl of Galloway, and Lord Kenmore, as the said Laird of Rymstone would come and joyn with us, and had we been able to continue some time longer together in a considerable Body, and had given the least fail to the King's Forces, we expected that many Persons of great Quality and Interest, would have joyn'd with us: whereof a perfect Account can be given by Earlestone (now a Prisoner in Edinburgh) if he will but ingenuously Declare what he knows.

The Night before the Fight, the Rebels (on Hamilton Moor) held a Council of War, consisting of Robert Hamilton, David Haxton of Rathillet, John Balfour, Major Ledmont, Mackerellan of Barfcol, Gordon of Home, Mr. William Ferguson of Caitloch, (my Captain aforesaid,) Gordon of Craig, Gordon of Newton, Gordon of Earystone, Elder, Gordon of Earystone, Younger, Gordon of Craichlaw,

law, Captain Mackulloch, Macdougall of Freugh, Captain John Smith, Captain Home, Mr. William Clelaud a Captain of Horse, Mr. James Fowler a Captain of Foot, Andrew Story a Captain of Foot, and several other Gentlemen and Officers, whose Names I do not at the present remember, but do well know the Places of their abode. There were also several of the Ministers in this Council of War, viz. Mr. John Welch, Mr. Robert Archiebald, Mr. Alexander Hafly, Mr. David Williamson (who also as I have said before was Captain of a Troop of Horse) Mr. David Home, Mr. John Blakater, Mr. John Blackloth, Mr. Donald Cargil, Mr. John Kid, Mr. John King, Mr. John Dick, Mr. Thomas Forrester, Mr. John Dickson, Mr. Robert Sandilauds, Mr. Patrick Vernatt, and Mr. John Harraway with some others: But at this time Mr. Richard Cameron and his Brother Mr. Michael, with some few other Ministers were gone to Holland with Moneys to pay for Arms that were formerly bought by Kerland's Sop (as I was since inform'd) and some other Phanaticks living there. In this Council there were very hot debates betwixt Welch's Party (the most considerable of the two) who were content to lay down Arms upon their getting an Indulgence, and Robert Hamilton's Party who would rest satisfied with nothing less than the Extirpation of Episcopacy, and setting up pure Presbyterian Government, as they call'd it. And the Differences were so great betwixt them, that the choice of their chief Officers (which was design'd to have been that Night) was put off till the next day, (being Sunday) at Ten in the Forenoon; but were prevented by the King's Army coming before Sun-rising, to the North-end of Bothwell-Bridge: However, they did that Night appoint two Commissioners, (viz. Mr. David Home and Captain Mackilloch) to Treat for them with the Duke of Monmouth: On whom they waited accordingly about half an Hour before the Fight, but returned without any Success. The general Discourse amongst the Rebels on Friday and Saturday was, That the Lord Burgoyne would certainly come into them the Monday following (had not the Fight on Sunday prevented him) to Command their Forces in chief, and to appoint such Field-Officers, both for the Horse and Foot as he should think fit, unless they had been appointed by the Council of War before his coming

ming ; but in either of the Cases they were to have had their Commissions from him : For it was most certain, that they would not allow *Robert Hamilton* to be their Commander in Chief. The Rebels did frequently and openly expres the great Confidence they had in some of their Friends about the Duke of *Monmouth*, and particularly the Lord *Melvil*, the Lord *Newark*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, and Sir *Hamilton of Preston* (the Elder Brother of *Robert Hamilton*) besides some others whom I do not now remember, but could know them, if I should hear their Names,

When the King's standing Forces begun to pass the Bridge, the chief Officers of the Rebels were consulting what was fit for them to do, and it was resolved that they should all March away in good order towards *Carrick* and the ruines of *Galloway*, until they should be furnished with Arms and Ammunition, which were Landed at *Borrowstennet's* (besides what was expected from *Holland*) but could not then be brought to them, by reason of the King's Army having been interposed between them and that place. And moreover they were in expectation of considerable Reinforcements both of Horse and Foot, which were on their March from several parts of the Country. But their chief Encouragement to prosecute this Design, was the Confidence they had, that the Duke of *Monmouth* would not put any hardship upon them; which I have good reason to believe was true; for when I was in Company with all the Rebels Horse (about 1600 in number) less than a Mile from the Field of Battle, Marching up on a Rising Ground (in our Retreat) I lookt over my Shoulder, and saw the King's Horse at a stand, after they had pursued us a little way, which we look'd upon as having been done to favour our escape, For if they had follow'd us, they had certainly kill'd or taken us all, a few only excepted, who were very well mounted; and we were often afterwards told, that they were stopt by the Duke of *Monmouth's* positive Command, when they were violently pursuing us, after they had quite broke our Foot (consisting upwards of 4000) and we were within less than half a mile of the Body of our Horse (running away) which then was in great Consternation and Confusion: However we March'd that Forenoon in as

good Order as we could (Twelve Miles over a Moor) to *Newmills*, without any of His Majesties Forces giving us the least disturbance, where we separated, some going towards *Air*, others to *Galloway*, and the rest to *Nithsdale*: amongst which last were the most resolute of the Officers, to the number of betwixt 45 and 50; who continued together in Arms, going up and down the Country *Galloway*, *Nithsdale* and other places thereabouts (after all the rest were scattered) until a Party of the King's Forces, under the Command of *Claverhouse* came into *Galloway*, and then we (for I was my self all along with that small remainder of the Rebels) went into the *West*, where we were most kindly entertain'd in many places, though I do not remember the Names of the Persons by whom: But I do well know their Habitations; and I was afterwards told by Mr. *Richard Camron*, and his Brother Mr. *Michael*, that they and several others were sheltered and entertained by Sir *Hugh*, and Sir *George Campbell's* at their House at *Cesnock*. After some stay in the *West*, I returned to my own House (*Kilroy*) within four Miles of *Dumfries*, where having staid about five or six weeks, the said Mr. *Richard Camron*, and his Brother Mr. *Michael* (who were some short time before returned from *Holland*) came to see me, and staid with me two Nights: They told me, that they had bought Four small Brass Guns, with a considerable quantity of Ammunition and Fire-Arms, which they had in a Readines, to have been Shipp'd at *Amsterdam*, in order to their having been landed at *Greenock*, when they receiv'd the News of the Defeat at *Bothwell-Bridge*: Whereupon they put up the said Guns, Arms and Ammunition in a secure place in *Amsterdam*, until there should be occasion for them. The Sunday after their coming to my House, Mr. *Richard Camron* kept a Field Conventicle within a Mile of Sir *Robert Dalzell's* House, where were about Three thousand in number. The occasion of this Meeting (where I was present) was to see how the Country stood inclin'd, and who would ioyn with him. From thence the said Mr. *Richard* carried with him Twenty Men (whereof I was one) to the Laird of St. *John's Kirk* (a Cousin of the Lord *Carmichael's*, and I suppose his Name is also *Carmichael*,) whose House is about Two Miles from *Biggar*, and towards Thirty from *Edinburgh*.

burgh, where we staid Four Days : During which there were several Conventicles kept in the House, at which the Laird and his Lady were constantly present : And the Sunday after we kept a Field-Conventicle on *Tinto-Hill*, to which there was People gathered from all parts of the Country thereabout , to the number of between Three or Four thousand, whereof many were well Arm'd. From this Hill I went with Mr. *Richard Camron* aforesaid, and upwards of Twenty more to the *Lady Gilkerſclergs* House (a Widow Lady) in *Clidſdale*, where we staid a Week, and kept several Conventicles with her. About this time the Duke was come to *Scot/land*, and whilst we were in this House, it was one Night at Supper propos'd by *Haxtoun* to kill his Royal Highness, the said Lady being present together with the Two *Camrns*, Four Gentlemen of the North, whom I knew not, and Two of my Neighbours, whose Names are *John Harper*, and *Robert Nafson*.

This *Haxtoun* said he would do it himself if he could come at him ; and thought , that it might best be done when the Duke was at Dinner ; wherfore he asked , If there were any there that would go and obſerve all the manner of his Royal Highnes's Dinning ? Whether People might get into the Room to see him at Dinner ? And if there were any Number , or Crowds of People got in ? Saying, That he was too well known to go upon this Errand himself. So Mr. *Michael Camron* undertook it, and took me along with him, who were particularly instructed to obſerve, whether People could go in with large Coats or Cloaks upon them, and Women with Plads ; and whether they could paſs the Sentinels with their Swords : And according as he ſhould find matters , he would afterwards contrive the best way to effect the Buſineſſ. Accordingly we two went, and ſaw the Duke at Dinner ; but as we re-turned to our Lodging , at one *Danald Mackay's* House, at the Head of the *Cougate*, near the *Graſs-market*, *Camron* by chance) met there a man which knew him ; whereupon we both betook our ſelves immediately to our Horses, (and were purſued by Twelve of the King's Dragoons, who followed us ſo cloſe , that we were forced to part Company ; and I went to my own House , where being again in danger by a Party of *Claverhouse* his Troop , and not thinking my ſelf ſafe, I came into *Eng/land*, where I con-tinued

tinued three years, and was at many Presbyterian House-Conventicles in *Shrewsbury*, *Bromigham* and *Bristol*; but never see a Field-Conventicle in this Kingdom, save one at *Clee-hill* (some few miles distant from *Ludlow*) upon a Sunday in May, 1681, where were met to the number of upwards of 1000; and some of Note were amongst them; but I do only remember the Names of Mr. *Burton* (a Lawyer whose Country-Residence is in *Shropshire*) and Mr. *Wardin*, a Merchant in *Bromigham*, besides the two Ministers who preached there, whose Names are Mr. *Thomas Eaglefall*, who lived in a little Market Town (called *Kinver*) in *Worcestershire*, near Justice *Foley's House*, and Mr. *Thomas Case*, who lived near *Shrewsbury*; and their Sermons were wholly tending to raise Faction and Sedition, in the same manner as I have too frequently heard in the Field-Conventicles in *Scotland*. About a year and a half ago I went over into *Holland*, when I saw the (since deceased) Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the late Earl of *Argyle*, at *Amsterdam*; but did not speak with either of them; and saw *Ferguson* at *Rotterdam*, with whom I spoke; but nothing concerning the Government. Then Mr. *John Hog*, and the other Scotch Ministers belonging to *Rotterdam* (knowing that I was in the Rebellion, and could not safely live at home) advised me to enter my self a Soldier in the Prince of *Orange's Army*; which I did accordingly in Colonel *James Douglas's* Regiment, in his own Company, where I served a Year; and then became known to Mr. *Thomas Maxwell*, a Captain in that Regiment, whose Country-man I am; and he understanding that I was fled from home upon the Account of my Accession to that Rebellion, told me how fair an opportunity I had to serve the King, by making a full Discovery of all Persons that I knew to be guilty of it, or any ways aiding and assisting towards the promoting the same. Adding, that if I would follow his Advice in that matter, he doubted not of his putting me in a way to deserve and obtain the King's Remission, whereby I might be enabled to live peaceably at home hereafter. To which I did very readily consent: And he having thereupon (the 12th of November last) obtained my Discharge from my Colonel, I have since discovered what I could. And particularly that at *Rotterdam* (since my said Discharge) I had seen several

several of the Whiggish Ministers, some whereof I remember were at *Bothwel-Bridge*, who came from *Scotland* about the beginning of *September* last, viz. Mr. *Thomas Forrester*, and Mr. *Patrick Vernatt* (formerly mentioned in the Council of War) who Preach frequently in the Scots Church at *Rotterdam*. As do Mr. *Gordon* (who is Brother to *James Gordon* a Merchant there lately deceased) Mr. *John Harvey*, Mr. *George Barclay*, and Mr. *John Sinclair*, all Phanatick Preachers. The most part of whom (as the above-mentioned Mr. *Forrester* told me) went over from *Holland* into *Scotland*, about the Month of *August* last; but that they found themselves in such daily hazards of being apprehended, that they returned back again to *Holland*; and that this bad News which they brought over with them, is the reason why *Robert Hamilton*'s late intended Journey to *Scotland* was put off, whither I was sometime before informed he did intend to go, and to carry Arms along with him to some of his Friends there. The said *Forrester* told me further, That they resolve to keep no more Field-Conventicles, finding that those Meetings have served only to weaken their Party, through the seizing of some, and dispersing the rest (which made their Friends publickly known) and that now the *English* and they joyn Councils, and resolve to go on more warily. I did likewise discover that the manner of the said Ministers, their passing to and fro betwixt *Holland* and *Scotland* undiscovered, was by their being clad in Seamans Cloaths, and working in the Ships as Seamen. As also, that I was perswaded, before they shall attempt any thing towards a new Rebellion, or making use of the Arms, that the two *Cannons* left in *Amsterdam* (which are now in the Custody of the late Earl of *Argy'e*, as I was told about Nine Weeks ago in *Utrecht*, by Sir *John Cockran*'s Second Son, and Mr. *William Cleland*, mentioned in the Council of War) they will first endeavour to dispatch the King; and that being done, they doubted not but they could soon overcome the Duke, and all others that would oppose them: Which I heard my self discoursed in a Meeting about Two Months ago, at Mr. *Thomas Hig*, a Phanatick Preacher his House in *Utrecht*, where were present (besides Mr. *Hig*, and my self) Sir *John Cochran*'s Son, and Mr. *Cleland*, already mentioned, Mr. *James Steward*,

the

the Lawyer, his Lady, the Lady *Kerstrand* and her Son, with several others whose Names I do not remember. But this Language they speak only amongst their confident Friends: For they make the common sort of People believe, that there was no such thing as a Phanatick-Plot; but that the raising of that report was a Contrivance of the Papists, to make use of false Witnesses, for taking away the Lives of True Protestants; which I have often heard, not only discoursed in Houses where some of the ordinary sort of People were in Company; but also Preached in the Churches, where the Sermons (for the most part) are disloyal and seditious to the highest Degree. The Ministers, likewise at Christenings, engaging the Parents (by solemn Oath) to bring up their Children in the True Protestant Faith, and in the Discipline and Doctrine of the Kirk of *Scotland*, according as they are obliged by the Solemn League and Covenant; and at their Communiions, debarring always from their Sacrament all such as have not taken the Covenant, and do not adhere to it. But of all the Fugitive Preachers lately gone over from *Scotland* into *Holland*, none is more perversely violent against the Government, than Mr. *John Sinclair* (who for many years was Minister, and kept a Boarding-School at *Ormestoun*) whom about Twelve Weeks ago I heard Preach in the Scotch Church at *Rotterdam*; and a great part of his Sermon was railing against the Duke, and the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, saying, That he (meaning his Royal Highness) was a Rebellious Enemy of God; and had got such a Hand over those perjur'd Rogues (meaning the Lords of the Privy Council) as they all intended to overturn the Protestant Religion, and to introduce Popery; which (he further said) could very easily be done, considering the small difference that is betwixt them since Episcopacy was re-established; and in his Prayer after Sermon, I heard him pray earnestly, That God might open the Kings Eyes, to let him see the Evil of his Ways, and turn from it; otherwife, That God might take him out of this World, from being a Curie, and a Scourge to his Holy People. And further prayed, That God would turn the Counsels of his Counsellors, as he did that of *Achitophel* into nothing.

The

The late Earl of *Argyle* lives now in the Province of *Friesland*, where he has a small Estate, purchased partly by his Father, and partly by himself; upon one of their Family or Tenants foretelling many years ago, that they should be driven from their Estate in *Scotland*, as I was often told in *Holland*, particularly by Mr. *John Hog* Minister of the Scotch Church in *Rotterdam* and Mr. *John Pitcairne*, who keeps a Meeting-house at *Utrecht*. The Earl of *Lowdon* with two Servants only, and Sir *James Dalrymple* of *Stair* with his whole Family, live at *Leyden*, besides Mr. *Douglas* (a Minister) and some few more whose names I do not remember. There are many Phanatick House-keepers in *Rotterdam*, who harbour the Rebels and Fugitives that come over from *Scotland*. Viz. *Robert Gibbs*, Mr. *Livistoune*, *John Gibbs*, Mr. *Russell*, *James Delapp*, *James Thomson*, *John Greirson*, *James Nory*, *John Jack*, *George Weir*, all Merchants, and the Widdow of the lately Deceased *James Gordon Merchant*, whose House was the Common Receptacle of the chief of those Rebels and Fugitives. The Gentlemen that I left at *Rotterdam* are, Mr. *Denham* of *Westfieels* with his Family, Captain *William Cleland*, *John Belfour*, with his Family, Captain *William Ferguson* of *Caitloch* with his Family, Captain *Andrew Story*. The Ministers there are Mr. *John Hog*, Mr. *Robert Fleming* (settled Preachers of the Scotch Church) Mr. *John Harraway*, Mr. *Thomas Forester*, Mr. *Alexander Hasty*, Mr. *Patrick Vernat*, Mr. *John Blakater*, Mr. *Gordon*, Mr. *George Barclay* and Mr. *John Sinclair* aforesaid, who is now settled a Preacher in the English Church at *Delfe*. At *Utrecht* I left Mr. *James Stewart* the Lawyer with his Family, and his Elder Brother the Laird of *Coldneffe*, Mr. *Cochran* (Sir *John's* Second Son) the Lady *Kensland* and her Son, and Six Ministers, Viz. Mr. *Thomas Hog*, Mr. *John Pitcairne*, Mr. *John Ogiky*, Mr. *John Veitche*, Mr. *Robert Ker* and Mr. *Robert Menteath*, besides some others of less Note, whose names I do not remember. I left at *Utrecht* three English Gentlemen who lived there for some time before, and go by the Names of Esquire *Packwood*, Mr. *Smith* a Merchant of *London*, and Mr. *Jones* a *Welso-man*, but I do not believe that these are their true Names for they fled from *England* upon the Discovery of the late Plot, as did likewise several other *English-men*, whom

whom I did often see there, but could not learn their Names; I did also see and speak with Sir *John Cockran*, but he and 7, or 8, *Scotchmen* more (whose names I know not) went two days after my Arrival there, to *Gilderland*, where a great many of the Rebels and Fugitives live (as they think) most safe and at ease amongst the Bores; for they were afraid of staying at *Utrecht* (as some of themselves told me) by reason of the Spies that they were informed were sent thither from *England* to make enquiry after such of His Majesties Subjects as lived there. And Mr. *Cochran* and Captain *Cleland* told me as their Friend, that the report amongst our Countrymen was that I likewise was sent thither as a Spie; which although they did not believe, yet they advised me to be gone away privately, assuring me withal that I was every hour I stayed there in hazard of losing my Life. Upon this I returned to *Rotterdam*, where my Credit with that Party continued about a week, until I was suspected by my old Captain and three of the Ministers, *Viz. Harraway, Forrester and Sinclair*, who about 7 or 8 Weeks ago carried me with them to Church, and there proposed (as a Test of my Sincerity to the interest of the good Cause as it was commonly called) that I should take the Covenant and the Sacrament with a Solemn Protestation that I am still (as I have been in former times) an Enemy to the King and the present Government: All which I refused to do; and then they debarred me for ever from their Meetings and Company: Nevertheless I did often thereafter insinuate my self into both, though without any Success; for I could not recover their good opinion, but on the contrary was daily threatned with the severest effects of their revenge.

White-hall

24 Feb. 168 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Robert Smith.

The

The Information of Zechariah Bourne taken the 5th. of December, 1683.

THAT Mr. Bayly sat up one night, if not two, with Mr. Ferguson, and went several times in the Evening, with him to the Duke of Monmouth, and the chief managers of their Conspiracy : Ferguson told me, he was the chief man for the Scots, next the Lord Argyle. The Night he sat up with Ferguson, I believe it was about the Declaration, for the next day he was going to shew it me, but some body came up to him, and hinder'd him. Mr. Bayly's great business to meet the Chief Conspirators was (as Ferguson told me) to get the 10000 £. for the buying of Arms, for the Insurrection in Scotland.

Carstares I saw often come to Ferguson, but for any Discourse he had with him he never told me of, or with any other but Mr. Bayly, as I can at present remember.

Zec. Bourne.

The

*The Deposition of Mr. William Carstares,
when he was Examined before the Lords
of Secret Committee, given in by him,
and renewed upon Oath, upon the 22d,
of December, 1684. in presence of the
Lords of His Majesty's Privy-Council.*

Edinburgh-Castle, September 8. 1684.

Mr. *William Carstares* being Examin'd upon Oath, conform to the Condescension given in by him, and on the Terms therein-mention'd, Depones, That about November or December, 1682. *James Stuart*, Brother to the Laird of *Cultness*, wrote a Letter to him from *Holland*, importing, that if any considerable sum of Money could be procur'd from *England*, that someting of Importance might be done in *Scotland*: The which Letter, the Deponent had an Inclination to inform *Shepard* in *Abb-Church-Lane*, Merchant in *London* of; but before he could do it, he wrote to Mr. *Stuart* above-nam'd, to know from him if he might do it; and Mr. *Stuart* having consented, he Communicat the faid Letter to Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent that he would Communicat the Contents of it to some persons in *England*; but did at that time name no body, as the Deponent thinks: Some time thereafter, Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent, that he had Communicat the Contents of the Letter above-named to Colonel *Sydney*, and that Colonel *Danvers* was present, and told the Deponent, that Colonel *Sydney* was averse from employing the late Earl of *Argyle*, or meddling with him, judging him a man too much affected to the Royal Family, and inclined to the present Church Government; yet Mr. *Shepard* being put upon it by the Deponent, still urg'd, that one might besent to

to the Earl of Argyle, but as Mr. *Slepard* told him, he was suspected upon the account of his urging so much; yet afterwards he press'd, without the Deponents knowledge, that the Deponent being to go to *Holland* however, might have some Commission to the Earl of *Argyle*, which he having inform'd the Deponent of, the Deponent told him, that he himself would not be concern'd, but if they would send another he would introduce him; but nothing of this was done: upon which the Deponent went over, without Commission from any body, to *Holland*, never meeting with *James Stuart* above-named: He was introduced to the Earl of *Argyle*, with whom he had never before convers'd; and did there discourse what had past betwixt Mr. *Shepard* and him; and particularly, about remitting of Mony to the said Earl from *England*; of which, the said *Mr. Stuart* had written to the Deponent, namely of 3000 pounds *Sterling*; and of the raisng of 1000 Horse and Dragoons; and the securing the Castle of *Edinburgh*, as a matter of the greatest importance: The method of doing this was propos'd by the Deponent, to be one hour, or thereby, after the reliev-ing of the Guards; But the Earl did not relish this propo-sition, as dangerous; and that the Castles would fall of con-sequence, after the work abroad was done. *James Stuart* was of the Deponents Opinion, for seizing the Castle; be-cause it would secure *Edinburgh*, the Magazines and Arms. As to the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, my Lord *Argyle* was of Opinion, that without them nothing was to be done; and that if that number was rais'd in *England* to the said Earl, he would come into *Scotland* with them; and that there be-ing so few Horse and Dragoons to meet them, he judg'd he might get the Country without trouble, having such a stand-ing Body for their Friends to Rendezvouz to; and the said Earl said he could shew the Deponent the convenient places for Landing, if he understood; and as the Deponent remem bers, where the Ships could attend. The Deponent re-members not the Names of the Places. The Deponent spoke to the Lord *Stairs*, but cannot be positive that he nam'd the Affair to him, but found him shie: but the Earl of *Argyle* told him, he thought *Stairs* might be gain'd to them: And that the Earl of *Lordoun* being a man of good Reason and disoblig'd, would have great influence upon the Country, and recommended the Deponent to Major

N

Holms,

Holms, with whom the Deponent had some acquaintance before, and had brought over a Letter from him to the Earl of *Aigle*; but the Deponent had not then communicate any thing to the said *Holms*. *James Stuart* laid down a way of correspondence by Cyphers and false Names, and sent them over to *Holms*, and the Deponent, for their use (which Cyphers and Names are now in the hands of His Majesty's Officers, as the Deponent supposes,) and did desire the Deponent earnestly to propose the 30000 pound *Sterling* above-named to the Party in *England*, and did not propose any less; for as the Earl told the Deponent, he had particularly calculate the Expence for Arms, Ammunition, &c. But *James Stuart* said, that if some less could be had, the Earl would content himself, if better might not be, but the Earl always said that there was nothing to be done without the body of Horse and Dragoons above-mentioned; During the time of the Deponent his abode in *Holland* tho he had several Letters from *Skepary*, yet there was no satisfactory account, till some time after the Deponent parted from the Earl of *Aigle*, and was making for a Ship at *Rotterdam* to transport himself to *England*. *James Stuart* wrote to him that there was hopes of the Mony. The next day after the Deponent came to *England*, he met with Sir *John Cochran*, who with Commissiar *Monro*, and *Jerviswo d*, was at *London* before he came over; and depones, That he knows not the account of their coming, more than for the perfecting the Transaction about *Carolina*: and having acquainted Sir *John Cochran* with the Earls demands of the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, Sir *John* carried him to the Lord *Russel*, to whom the Deponent proposed the Affair, but being an absolute Stranger to the Deponent, had no return from him at that time; but afterwards having met him accidentally at Mr. *Shepards* house, where the Lord *Russel* had come to speak to *Skepary* about the Mony above-named, as Mr. *Shepard* told the Deponent. The Deponent (when they were done speaking) desired to speak to the Lord *Russel*, which the Lord *Russel* did, and having reiterate the former Proposition for the 30000 pound *Sterling*, and the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, he the Lord *Russel* told the Deponent, they could not get so much raised at the time, but if they had 10000 pound to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were once in, they would

world soon be brought to more ; but as for the 1000 Horse and Dragoons, he could say nothing at the present, for that behoved to be concerted upon the Borders. The Deponent made the same proposal to Mr. Ferguson, who was much concerned in the Affair, and zealous for the promoting of it. This Mr. Ferguson had in October or November before, as the Deponent remembers in a Conversation with the Deponent in *Cheap-side*, or the Street somewhere thereabout, said, that for the saving of Innocent Blood, it would be necessary to cut off a few, insinuating the King and Duke, but cannot be positive whether he named them or not ; To which the Deponent said, that's work for our wild People in *Scotland*, my Conscience does not serve me for such things ; after which the Deponent had never any particular discourse with *Ferguson* as to that matter ; but as to the other Affair, *Ferguson* told the Deponent that he was doing what he could to get it effectuate ; as particularly that he spoke to one Major *Wildman* who is not of the Deponent his acquaintance. *Ferguson* blamed always *Sydney*, as driving designs of his own. The Deponent met twice or thrice with the Lord *Melvil*, Sir *John Cochran*, *Jerviswood*, Commissar *Monro*, the two *Cessnocks*, *Montgomery* of *Langshaw*, and one Mr. *Veatch*, where they discoursed of Mony to be sent to *Argyle*, in order to the carrying on the Affair ; and tho he cannot be positive the Affair was named, yet it was understood by himself, and as he conceives by all present, to be for rising in Arms, for rectifying the Government. Commissar *Monro*, Lord *Melvil*, and the two *Cessnocks* were against meddling with the *English*, because they judged them men that would talk, and would not do, but were more inclined to do something by themselves, if it could be done. The Lord *Melvil* thought every thing hazardous, and therefore the Deponent cannot say he was positive in any thing, but was most inclined to have the Duke of *Monmouth* to head them in *Scotland*, of which no particular method was laid down. *Jerviswood*, the Deponent, and Mr. *Veatch*, were for taking the Mony ; at one of these Meetings it was resolved, that Mr. *Martin*, late Clerk of the Justice Court, should be sent to *Scotland*, to desire their Friends to hinder the Country from Rising or taking rash Resolutions upon the account of the Council, till they should see how matters went in *England*. The said *Martin* did go at the Charges

of the Gentlemen of the Meeting, and was directed to the Laird of *Polwart* and *Tirwoodie*, who sent back word, that it would not be found so easie a matter to get the Gentry of *Scotland* to concur: But afterwards in a Letter to Commis-*far Monro*, *Polwart* wrote that the Country was readier to concur than they had imagined, or something to that purpose. The Deponent, as abovesaid, having brought over a Key from *Holland*, to serve himself and Major *Holms*, he remembers not that ever he had an exact Copy of it, but that sometimes the one, sometimes the other kept it, and so it chanced to be in his Custody when a Letter from the Earl of *Argyle* came to Major *Holms*, intimating, that he would joyn with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and follow his Measures, or obey his Directions: this Mr. *Veatch* thought fit to communicate to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and for the Understanding of it was brought to the Deponent, and he gave the Key to Mr. *Veatch*, who as the Deponent was inform'd, was to give it and the Letter to Mr. *Ferguson*, and he to shew it to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but what was done in it the Deponent knows not. The Deponent heard the Design of killing the King and Duke, from Mr. *Shepard*, who told the Deponent some were full upon it. The Deponent heard that *Aaron Smith* was sent by those in *England* to call Sir *John Cochran*, on the account of *Carolina*, but that he does not know *Aaron Smith*, nor any more of that Matter, not being concern'd in it. *Shepard* nam'd young *Hamden* frequently as concern'd in these Matters.

*Sign'd at Edinburgh Castle, the 8th. of September, 1684.
and renoced the 18th. of the same Month.*

William Carstares.

PERTH. CANCELL. I.P.D.

Edinburgh

Edinburgh Castle September 18. 1684.

Mr. *William Carstares* being again examin'd, adheres to his former Deposition, in all the parts of it, and Depones he knows of no Correspondence betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, except by *Martin* before-named: For those Gentlemen to whom he was sent, were left to follow their own Methods. *Veatch*, as the Deponent remembers, stayed sometimes at *Nicholson Stabler's House* at *London-Wall*; sometimes with one *Widow Hardcastle* in *Morefields*. The Deponent did Communicate the Design on Foot to Doctor *Owen*, Mr. *Griffin*, and Mr. *Meed* at *Stepney*, who all concurred in the promoting of it, and were desirous it should take effect; and to one Mr. *Fretz* in the *Temple*, Counsellor at Law, who said he would see what he could do in reference to the *Mony*, but there having gone a Report, that there was no *Mony* to be rais'd, he did nothing in it, nor does the Deponent think him any more concern'd in the the Affair. *Nelthorp* frequently spoke to the Deponent of the *Mony* to be sent to *Argyle*, whether it was got or not, but the Deponent used no freedom with him in the Affair. *Good-enough* did insinuate once, that the *Lords* were not inclin'd to the thing, and that before they would see what they could do in the City. The Deponent saw Mr. *Ferguson*, and Mr. *Rumsey*, lurking after the Plot broke out, before the Proclamation, having gone to *Ferguson*, in the back of *Bishop-gate-street*, at some new Building, whether he was directed by *Jerviswood*, who was desirous to know how things went. *Rumsey* was not of the Deponent his Acquaintance before, but they knew as little of the matter as the Deponent. This is what the Deponent remembers, and if any thing come to his Memory, he is to deliver it in betwixt this, and the first of *October*: And this is the truth, as he shall Answer to God.

William Carstares.

PERTH CANCELL. I. P. D.

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At

At Edinburgh,

The 22d. of December, 1684.

THese fore-going Pages, subscrib'd by Mr. *William Carstares* Deponent, and by the Lord Chancellor, were acknowledged on Oath by the said Mr. *William Carstares*, to be his true Depositions, and that the Subscriptions were his, in presence of us Underscribers,

William Carstares.

PERTH CANCELLARIUS.

David Falconer.

George Mekenzie.

QUENSBERRY.

ATHOL.

*Copy of the Lord Russel's Examination in
the Tower.*

My Lord Russel Asked,

Wether he knows of any Consultations tending towards an Insurrection, or to surprize His Majesties Guards at any time, and by any persons, and by whom?

Whether he hath ever been at Mr. Shepards House, and how often, and when last?

Whether any Lords were in company, and who?

Whether

Whether at any time the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Colonel *Romney*, Mr. *Ferguson*, or any of them were there, and how many, and which of them?

Whether there was any discourse concerning a Rising in the West, or any parts of the West, or at *Taunton*, and what the Discourse was and by whom?

Whether there was any discourse concerning the surprizing the Kings Guards at any time?

Whether the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong* did undertake to view the Guards to see if it might be done, and in what posture they were?

Whether they gave any account that they had viewed the Guards, and how they found them?

What did Mr. *Ferguson* say at any of those Meetings, and by whom was he directed?

Whether he knows of any Design for a Rising in *Scotland*? Whether he hath been at any Consultations for that end, with any persons, Scotch-men or others, and with whom? What Monies the Scotch demanded at first, and whether they did not consent to take Ten thousand pounds, and how was that or any part of that to be raised, and by whom?

*My Lord Russel's Answer to the preceding
Interrogatories.*

MY Lord knows of no Consultation tending to any Insurrection.

His Lordship knows nothing of any Consultation or Design to surprize his Majesties Guards at any time

His Lordship doth acknowledge to have been frequently (*divers times*) at Mr. *Shepard's* House,

His Lordship cannot precisely set down the time that he was there last.

To the two Articles relating to the Lords that were in company at Mr. *Shepards*, his Lordship answers that he went thither with the Duke of *Monmouth*; but as to the rest of the persons then present, his Lordship conceives that he ought not to answer, because there were ill Constructions made of that Meeting, nor cannot positively remember.

His Lordship answers,

There was no discourse as he remembers concerning any Rising in the West, or any parts of the West, or at *Taunton*, nor particularly of Mr. *John Trenchard's* Undertaking, nor any discourse about Mr. *John Trenchard* as he remembers.

His Lordship answers there was no Discourse at Mr. *Shepards* about surprizing the Guards, nor of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, my Lord *Grey's*, nor of Sir *Thomas Armstrong's* Undertaking to view the Guards; nor was there any account there given by the said persons of their having viewed the Guards, nor how they found them.

Nor was there any such Undertaking elsewhere to his knowledge.

To the question what Mr. *Ferguson* did say at any of those Meetings, his Lordship answers that he cannot tell what Mr. *Ferguson* did say there, nor doth he own that Mr. *Ferguson* was there.

His Lordship knows of no Design for a Rising in *Scotland*, nor knows any thing of the whole Article relating to *Scotland*, nor any part of it.

His Lordship hath heard general discourses of many distressed people, Ministers and others of the Scottish Nation that were fled and that it were great Charity to relieve them.

This Examination was taken the 28th day of June, 1683.
Before Us

*L. Jenkins,
J. Ernle,
R. Sawyer,
H. Finch.*

Notes

*Notes of some things Confessed before
His Majesty and the Council, taken out
of the Books of Minutes.*

*J*ohn Rouse confess that Mony was Collected in the City at the intimation or desire of some Parliament Men, for the Kings Evidence, that receiving that Mony for that purpose from some of them, he sent it to those Persons for whom it was design'd.

Bourn Confesses, That Sir Thomas Armstrong used to come every day to *Ferguson* when he lay at his House, that he has seen him since the discovery when *Armstrong* urged him to get some Friends together to make a push, and that it was better to dye with Swords in their Hands.

Walcot Confesses, That *Aaron Smith* was sent into Scotland by those Gentlemen that transacted the Matter.

Bourn says, That *Ferguson* Lodged at his Fathers House a Month or Six Weeks, That he left no Papers in his House, and used to say he would never be hanged for Papers.

Shepard says, *Bayly* told him *Charlton* had undertaken to raise the whole 10000*l.*

Romzey says, The Lord *Russel* was about going away from *Shepard's* when he arrived there, and that his Lordship said *Trenchard* was a Coward, and that he would go down himself and begin the Rising.

Charlton confesses, He had paid *Otes* 80*l.* per Quarter, for his Subsistence, of which he had but 10*l.* of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and was himself the rest out of Purse, but that he was told a Parliament would reimburse him.

Shepard says, That *Ferguson* and *Bayly* told him that *Charlton* would procure the 10000*l.* himself, and raise it upon a Mortgage.

Charlton further says, He paid *Otes* about 400*l.* in all. *The*

The Information of John Rouse taken at his desire in Newgate the 19th. of July, 1683.

THe Informant saith, That the design of the Rebellion and seizing the King was begun by the Earl of Shaftesbury at his House in Aldersgate-street, before the Meeting of the Parliament at Oxford, where the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Lord Russel, Lord Grey, Major Manly a Brewer at White-chappel, and others whom he saw there, and as he was told likewise by his Servants, frequently met there; the foundation of all the Scurrilous Libels was laid, particularly that of the *Racee-shew*.

That all those Clubs at Mile-end-green, the Sun behind the Exchange, at Russel's in Ironmonger-lane, and at the Salutation in Lombard-street, were to carry on that Design, he cannot recollect all Names, but Declares that he knows all those of Note that were at those Clubs were thoroughly acquainted with the Design. These Clubs were divided into three Factions, by reason of which Division the Informant saith the Design went on so slow as it did, and at last it fell between the Duke of Monmouth, and a Common-wealth: and the greater number carried it for the Duke of Monmouth, because it was found upon his going into the West, Chichester and Cheshire, the vogue of the People went for him. Those that were for a Commonwealth were absolutely resolv'd to have nothing to do with the Race of the Stuart's; but they pitcht upon Richard Cromwell, whom this Informant knows to be in England. The longest day that was appointed for execution of this was at Midsummer-day last, when the People should be at Guild-hall chusing Sheriffs.

Five hundred Horse were promised to be sent in from the Country, who were to seize the Guards.

The pretence of the Conspirators was to secure His Majesty from being killed by the Papists, that if he would not

not comply with His Parliament at *Oxford*, then to set up the Duke of *Monmouth*. That this was long design'd likewise before the Meeting at *Oxford*.

The Informant saith, That it was resolved by the Conspirators, That when they should have accomplit their Design, and that the *Tower* and *City of London* was seiz'd, then they were to go to *Whitehal* and demand their Priviledges and Freedoms, with their Swords in their Hands.

He hath been present at many of these Clubs where these Designs have been consulted of, and all the persons of any Note, Commons as well as Lords were consenting to the Conpiracy; he saith he can prove it by many Witnesses.

He saith my Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Otes* were the principal movers in all this business.

*A particular Account of the Situation of
the Rye-House.*

THe *Rye-House* in *Hartfordshire*, about Eighteen miles from *London*, is so called from the *Rye* a Meadow near it. Just under it there is a By-road from *Biskops-Strafford* to *Hodden*, which was constantly used by the King when he went to or from *Newmarket*; the great Road winding much about on the Right Hand by *Stansted*. The House is an old strong Building and stands alone encompass'd with a Mote, and towards the Garden has high Walls, so that Twenty Men might easily defend it for some time against Five hundred. From a high Tower in the House all that go or come may be seen both ways for near a Miles distance. As you come from *Newmarket* towards *London*, when you are near the House, you pass the Meadow over a narrow Cause-way, at the end of which is a Toll-Gate, which having Entred you go through a Yard, and

a little Field, and at the end of that through another Gate, you pass into a narrow Lane, where Two Coaches at that time could not go a-breast. This narrow passage had on the Left Hand a thick Hedge and a Ditch, on the Right a long Range of Building used for Corn-Chambers and Stables with several Doors and Windows looking into the Road, and before it a Pale, which then made the passage so narrow, but is since removed. When you are past this long Building, you go by the Mote and the Garden Wall, that is very strong, and has divers holes in it, through which a great many Men might shoot. Along by the Mote and Wall the Road continues to the *Ware-River* which runs about Twenty or Thirty yards from the Mote, and is to be past by a Bridge. A small distance from thence another Bridge is to be past over the *New-River*. In both which Passes a few Men may oppose great numbers. In the outer Court-yard, which is behind the long Building, a considerable Body of Horse and Foot might be drawn up unperceived from the Road; whence they might easily issue out at the same time into each end of the narrow Lane, which was also to be stopt up by overturning a Cart.

Notes

Notes of what pass'd between
the late KING, His Royal
Highness the Duke of YORK,
and the Duke of Monmouth,
at the time of his first Ren-
dring himself.

Taken in Writing at that time by
his Royal Highness.

November the 25th. 1683.

Yester day the Duke of Monmouth
came and Surrendered himself to Mr.
Secretary Jenkins, and desired to speak alone
with the King and Duke, which was granted
him. He first threw himself at His Majes-
ties Feet, acknowledging his Guilt, and the
share he had in the Conspiracy, and asked His
Pardon; then confess himself faulty to the
Duke, asked his Pardon also, assured him
if he should survive His Majesty, that he
would pay him all the Duty that became a
Loyal Subject, and be the first should draw
his Sword for him, should there be occasion.
He then desired His Majesty would not oblige
him

him to be a Witness, and then gave an account of the whole Conspiracy, naming all those concerned in it, which were more than those had already been mentioned by the several Witnesses. He denied any knowledge of the Assassination. When he had made an end of his Confession, His Majesty ordered him to be put into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms. This day admitted him to his Presence, and ordered a stop to be put to the Outlawry, and Promis'd him his Pardon. He further added that Dr. Owen, Mead, Griffin, and all the considerable Nonconformist Ministers knew of the Conspiracy.

The

The Duke of Monmouth's First Letter to the KING, mentioned,
P. 151. of the foregoing Account.

IF I could have Writ to Your Majest^y sooner, with any safety to my self, I would have done it, to have told you, That there is nothing under Heaven has struck me so to the Heart, as to be put into a Proclamation for an Intention of Murdaring of You, Sir, and the Duke. I do call God Almighty to Witness, and I wish I may Die this Moment I am Writing if ever it entred into my Head, or ever said the least thing to any body that could make them think I could wish such a Thing; I am sure there cannot be such Villains upon Earth to say I ever did. But I am so innocent to this point that I will say no more of it, for I know God Almighty is Just, and I do not doubt but he will put it into Your Heart, that I am clear of this most Horrid and Base Accusation. But Sir, the Chief intent of this Letter is to beg Pardon both of You, Sir, and the Duke, for the many things I have done
that

that have made you both angry with me: But more especially of the Duke, tho I might have some justification for my self that many People made me believe he intended to destroy me; for to You, Sir, I do protest before God Almighty, and I wish I may never prosper more That all I have done was only to save You, as I shall convince Your Majesty if ever I am so happy to speak to You, and I hope You will let me do it before it be long, for I have that to say to You, Sir, that will for ever I hope settle You quiet in Your Kingdom, and the Duke after You, whom I intend to serve to the uttermost of my Power, and, Sir, to convince him that I will do so, if Your Majesty will give me Your Pardon, I will deliver myself up into his Hands, that the Duke may bring me to You; besides, Sir, I should be glad to have him by when I speak to You, but no body else, and by this kindness of the Dukes, if ever I should do any thing afterwards against him, I must be thought the ungratefullest Man living. What good can it do You, Sir, to take Your own Child's Life away that only Erred and ventured his Life to save Yours? And besides, Sir, I am sure I can be Serviceable to you, and if I may say so, make the rest of Your Life happy, or at least Contribute a great deal towards it. You may

may believe me, Sir, for I do not tell You this out of Fear, but because I do think my self sure of it. I do beg of You, Sir, if You have any thoughts of Mercy of me, that You will let me know it soon, for the sooner I speak to You the better. And now, Sir, I do Swear to You, that from this time, I never will displease You in any thing, but the whole Study of my Life shall be to shew how truly Penitent I am for having done it, and how well I will deserve the Life You give me. And for the Duke that he may have a more firm confidence of the service I intend to do him, I do here Declare to Your Majesty, that I will never ask to see Your Face more, if ever I do any thing against him, which is the greatest Curse I can lay upon my self,

Monmouth.

O

The

The Duke of Monmouth's Second
Letter to the KING, mention-
ed P. 163 of the foregoing Ac-
count.

Y O U must allow me, SIR, still to im-
portune You, not without hopes of pre-
vailing at last upon Your Generosity, so as
it may get the better of Your Anger to me.
I am half distracted, Sir, with the Thoughts
of having offended You; and the Torment it
gives me is perhaps greater than Your for-
giving Nature would know how to inflict up-
on the most Criminal Offenders: The Char-
acter I lye under is too heavy for me to bear;
even Death it self would be a relief to me,
could I have it without the aggravation of
leaving the World under Your Displeasure:
I must therefore throw my self upon Your
Compassion, which being a Virtue so agree-
able to Your Nature, I hope Your Child, Sir,
will not be an unfortunate Instance of Your
denying it, when 'tis implored. I confess,
Sir, I have been in fault, misled, and in-
sensibly engaged in Things of which the
Consequence was not enough understood by
me: Yet I can say I never had a Criminal
Thought

Thought towards Your Majesty, not pretending by that to insist upon an absolute Justification of my self. Your Majesty will consider, that whilst I was under the Apprehensions of great Anger and Violence against me, it might easily corrupt my Judgment, and by seeing Things in a wrong Light, betray me into very fatal Mistakes: But now that I have had time to recollect my self, every thing like a Fault towards Your Majesty appeareth to me in such a reproaching terrifying Shape, that I have a Remorse for it, which could it be seen, I assure my self it would move Your Compassion to me. I humbly beg, Sir, to be admitted to Your Feet, and to be disposed of as You direct, not only now, but for the remainder of my Life: And though my Resignation is too full to admit any Reserve, Your Majesty will permit me to offer to You, whether You will let pass any thing as a Penalty upon me, which may lay a Stain upon my Innocent Children? whether You will make me undergo the Ignominy of a Tryal, before You give me Your Pardon? And of what Use or Satisfaction it can be to You to forgive me, and yet give me the cruel Punishment of hearing my self Arraigned for Treason against such a King, and such a Father? And whether my being carried to the Tower in case You

be pleased to excuse my Tryal, can have any Effect but an unnecessary Mortification of One, who God knoweth is already enough afflited, and some kind of blemish too, to my Family, as well as an useless Limitation of Your Majesties Mercy? SIR, I lay these things before You in the most submitting manner that is possible, with an entire Resignation to what You shall determine. Neither do I imagine to receive Your Pardon any otherwise than by the intercession of the Duke, whom I acknowledge to have offended, and am prepared to submit my self in the humblest manner; and therefore beg Your Majesty would direct how I am to apply my self to Him; and I shall do it, not as an outward Form, but with all the Sincerity in the World. If what I have said can move You to forget my past Faults, it will be a Grace I shall endeavour to deserve by all the Actions of my Life: And I am so sensible how ill a Guide my own Will hath been to me, that I am resolved for the future to put it entirely into Your Majesties Hands, that I may by that means never commit a Fault but for want of Your Directions or Your Commands. Dear Sir, be pleased to revive by a kind Answer the most miserable disconsolate Creature now living,

Monmouth.

The

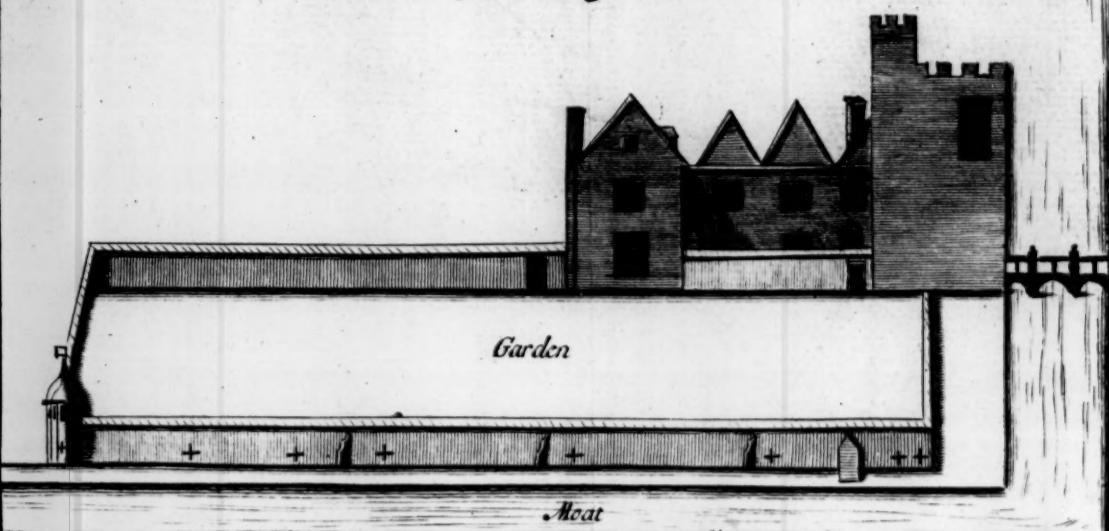
The Copy of a Letter to the KING,
 Signed by the Duke of Mon-
 mouth, mentioned P. 167. of the
 foregoing Account.

I Have heard of some Reports of me, as if I should have lessen'd the late Plot, and gone about to discredit the Evidence given against those, who have died by Justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how Ingenuously I have own'd the late Conspiracy, and thô I was not conscious of any Design against Your Majesties Life, yet I lament the having had so great a share in the other part of the said Conspiracy. Sir, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing for my own Vindication, and I beseech You to look forward, and endeavour to forget the Faults You have forgiven me: I will take Care never to Commit any more against You, or come within the danger of being again misled from my Duty, but make it the business of my Life to deserve the Pardon Your Majesty hath Granted to Your Dutiful.

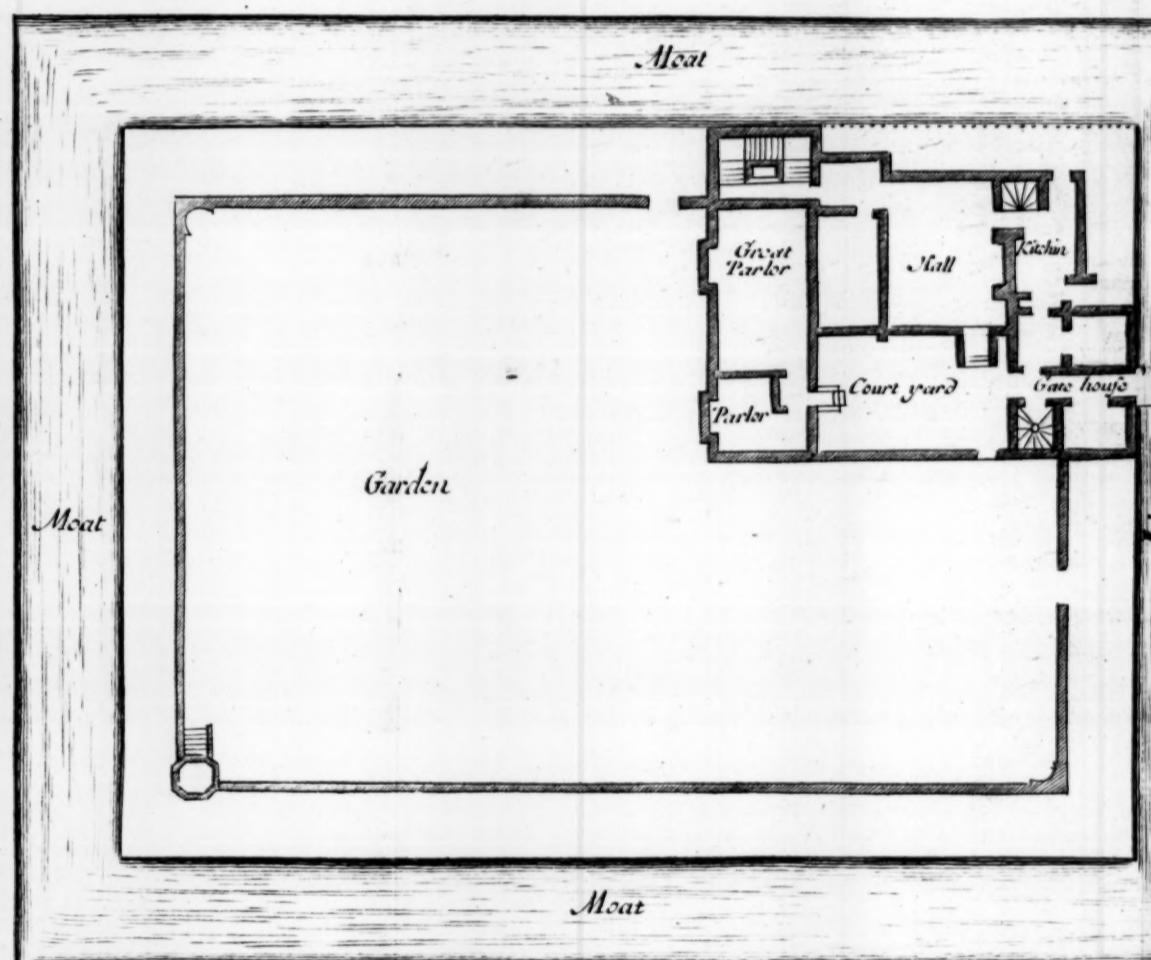
Monmouth.

FINIS.

The Rye House



the south Front next the Roade

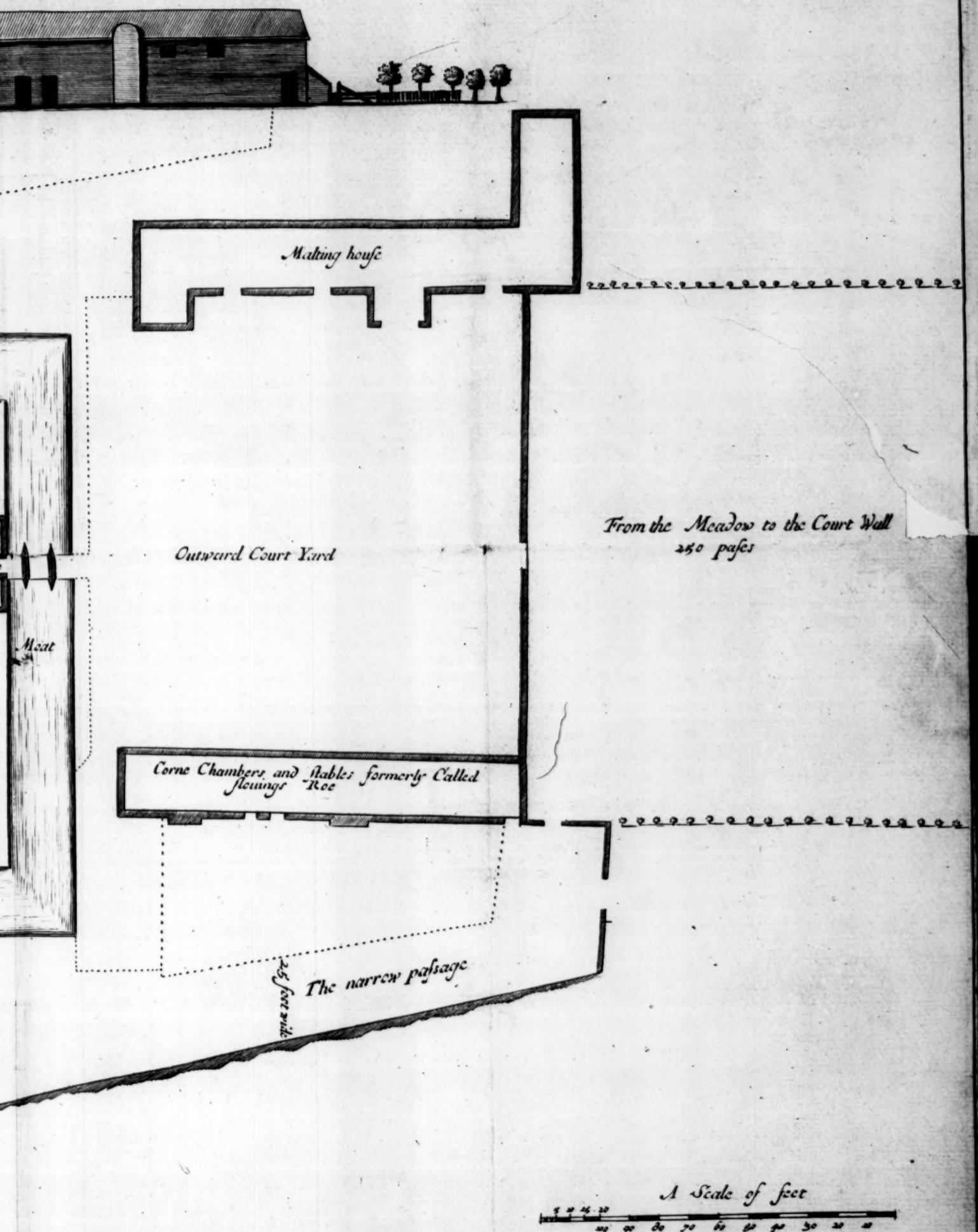


Between Ware River and the Moat is 87 feet

Ware River

Bridg

The Road from Hoddesdon to Bishop stafford



I. Oliver sculp.